

# DC Gazette

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# THE WEATHER REPORT



**VDT LEGISLATION:** Two groups for office workers are sponsoring model legislation designed to regulate the use of video display terminals on the job. Nine-to-Five, the national association of working women, and District 925, a national union for office workers, are working for passage of the bill in Ohio where it was introduced in the legislature in October. The law would set up measures to reduce glare and noise from terminals and also provide for eye exams, metal radiation shields, rest breaks and daily limits on the hours a worker spends at a VDT. The bill would also give employees the right to transfer from a VDT during a pregnancy and would forbid the use of VDTs to monitor individual performance or productivity. Nine-to-Five notes that there are currently seven million VDT operators in the US, of whom five million are women of child-bearing age.

**THREE MILE OPERATOR INDICTED:** Metropolitan Edison, the former operator of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant was indicted last month on charges of falsifying safety-test results before the 1979 accident at the plant.

**IRS GOES AFTER MAILING LISTS:** A quiet little battle over your rights of privacy has been going on between the IRS and some of the nation's biggest mailing houses and you'll be happy to learn that at some of the direct mailers are on your side. The IRS wanted to purchase mailing lists (which can provide important demographic and spending habit information) as part of a plan to track down income tax evaders. Three of the top mail houses, Donnelly Marketing, RL Polk & Co., and Metromail, reportedly have turned down the agency. Jack Casey, a representative of Donnelly, told ZIP magazine that "They were after lists that would give some assumption of income by individuals. When we understood that this was part of an effort to track down people, we decided against it .... We shouldn't sell the government a list with your name or my name on it."

**MOTHER JONES BEATS IRS:** Mother Jones, the progressive monthly, has won a 3 1/2 year battle against the IRS which had been challenging its non-profit status. Says publisher Robin Wolaner, "The IRS has finally accepted what we've said all along, that we're published not to make a profit but to make a point."

**POLICE CHIEF'S WIFE JAILED IN PROTEST:** Erica Bouza, wife of the police chief of Minneapolis, was jailed last month for taking part in a protest against the Honeywell Corporation. Erica Bouza took a copy of Jane Austen to the Hennepin County workhouse for her ten-day stay and says her husband, Chief Anthony Bouza, "I'm not embarrassed. I think she has every right to air her own beliefs in a legitimate fashion. I'm sure she'll come out spouting all kinds of comments about prison reform."

**BIG PARTY SLATED:** The Assistant Secretary-General of the UN, Robert G. Muller, is among those supporting a week-long worldwide celebration of disarmament next fall. Other endorsers include Linus Pauling, Pete

Seeger, Daniel Berrigan, Maggie Kuhn, Flo Kennedy, Gerhard Elston and Dick Gregory. The purpose of the celebration is to help people visualize a world where creating weapons of war is impossible. Says organizer Art Rosenblum, "Just as slavery, once an accepted institution, is now outmoded, a new trend in world thinking is making war as unacceptable as slavery. The party celebrates the start of this transformation. Rosenblum's organization, the Aquarian Research Foundation (5620 Morton St, Philadelphia Pa. 19144) is distributing a party manual, two hundred invitations and a newsletter for a donation of \$25 or whatever a person can afford.

**STATE ACTION ON FED:** Although you don't read much about it, a number of states have passed memorials calling for the abolition of the Federal Reserve Board. Others are considering the move. Those who have already done so are Alabama, Arizona and Idaho.

**ANTI-WAR INITIATIVES PASSED:** Voters in Boulder, San Francisco and Seattle approved initiatives protesting US military aid to Central America .... Philadelphia passed an initiative calling on the federal government to cut the defense budget and increase spending on social programs.

**GRENADA AND WOMEN:** In a poll taken shortly after the Grenadan invasion, ABC found that men supported the attack by a margin of 66% to 26% but women only backed it 48% to 40%. Interestingly, according to Gus Newton, the black mayor of Berkeley and the local head of the US-Grenada Friendship Committee, the government of Maurice Bishop "went as far as any place I've ever seen" in giving women equal rights." Bishop's chief ambassadors were mostly female, and included one woman only 26 years old. Bishop's government also gave women equal pay throughout all industries.

**EQUAL PAY BUT NOT HOURS:** A US appeals court has ruled that equal pay does not cover workload. The court rejected a claim by a female professor at Louisiana State University who was paid the same as male professors but said she had to work twice as many hours.

**THE FRIENDLY SKIES OF EL CHICHON:** The sulfuric acid from the March 1982 eruption of El Chichon is eating away at plastic airplane windows. They used to be replaced after 30,000 hours of flying time. Now it's down to 3000.

The science which brings together those engaged in research, technicians and workers, which mobilizes political and economic powers, which transforms society at all levels and in all its institutions, has a task today which is proving more urgent and indispensable than ever, namely the task of cooperating in saving and building up peace.

Unarmed prophets have been the object of derision in every age, especially on the part of shrewd politicians, the supporters of power. But today must not our civilization recognize that humanity has need of them? Should not they alone be heard by the whole of the world's scientific community, so that the laboratories and factories of death may give place to laboratories of life? The scientist can exercise his freedom to choose the field of his own research. When, in a particular historical situation, it is all but inevitable that a certain form of scientific research will be used for the purposes of aggression, he must make a choice that will enable him to work for the good of people, for the building up of peace. By refusing certain fields of research, inevitably destined, in the concrete historical circumstances, for deadly purposes, the scientists of the whole world ought to be united in a common readiness to disarm science and to form a providential force for peace.

--POPE JOHN PAUL II  
Speech to the Pontifical  
Academy of Sciences, Nov. 12



**THE SPACE GAP:** John Glenn has picked up the support of only one former astronaut-- Gordon Cooper, in his race for the presidency.

**THE POPE AND BINGO:** The Vatican newspaper has come out with an editorial saying that gambling is not a sin as long as the stakes are low and does not "impoverish the financial situation of the family."

**ELEANOR ROOSEVELT'S FORGOTTEN NEWS CONFRENCES:** A University of Maryland journalism professor has published a book that brings to light Eleanor Roosevelt's all-women press conferences of some 40 years ago. It had been thought that no record existed of the conferences, but Maurine Beasley manage to locate transcripts of 87 of the sessions. During those meetings, Roosevelt dealt with such subjects as a waitress' strike, the DAR's snub of Marian Anderson and women's need for jobs. Beasley, in a new book -- 'The White House News conferences of Eleanor Roosevelt', writes that Roosevelt banned men from her press conferences so the women would have an edge on their male competitors. Roosevelt also reportedly thought the women would simply do a better job of reporting on the subjects that were near to her. It was Roosevelt's policy, incidentally, that led the United Press to hire its first female reporter.

**WOMEN IN THE LEGISLATURES:** According to USA Today, the states with the highest percentage of women in their state legislature are New Hampshire (28%), Colorado (25%), Connecticut (23%), Wyoming (23%) and Maine (22%). Those with the lowest percentage are Arkansas (5%), Alabama (4%), Pennsylvania (4%), Louisiana (2%) and Mississippi (2%).

**WATCHING JANE FONDA:** A private security guard hired by Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden during the 1970s has turned out to be a double-dipper. Jon Dial, who accompanied Fonda around California during her Indochina peace campaign in 1972, was at the same time an undercover police officer, according to the Los Angeles Daily News. The News reports that Dial was an agent of the now-defunct Public Disorder Intelligence Division which monitored the activities of supposed radicals. Fonda and Hayden were so taken in by Dial that they hired him again in 1976 when Hayden ran for the US Senate. By this time, however, the LAPD had lost interest in paying Dial for information on Fonda.

**Common Sense** is Florida's oldest (est. 1974) and leading libertarian newsletter and is published 6 times a year at an annual subscription rate of eight dollars per year, for libertarians and other friends of liberty. Sample issue available \$1.00. Please send all correspondence and subscriptions to **Common Sense/LPDC**, P.O. Box 650051, Miami, Florida 33165.

## THE DC GAZETTE

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The Gazette welcomes articles and letters but unfortunately can not pay for them. All submissions should be made with a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish the material returned.

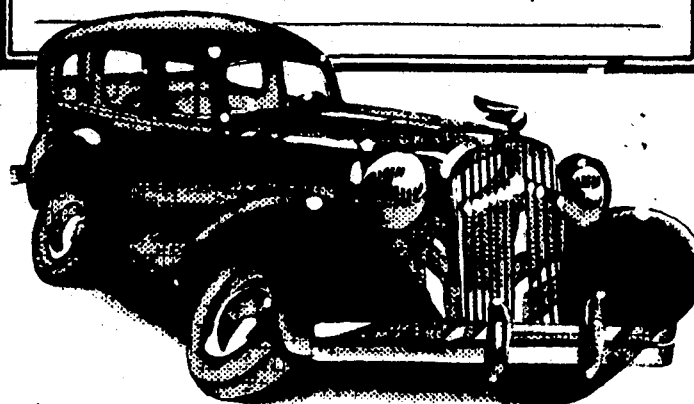
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The National Leader, the black weekly, recently ran a quiz on black baseball that stumped all its readers except for one -- Ira Glasser, executive director of the ACLU got 19 of the 20 questions right. The question that stumped him was "Who was the last former Negro League player to appear in the major leagues?" Glasser thought he saw a trick and wrote, "John Kennedy, if you mean who was the last to enter the major leagues; Hank Aaron if you mean who was the last to play in the major leagues." But he missed the word "appear" -- the correct answer was Minnie Minoso who batted twice for the Chicago White Sox in 1980 at the age of 58. The rest of the quiz was just as hard. For example, which team fielded baseball's first all-black outfield? Name the players. (Answer: the 1951 Giants with Monte Irvin, Willie Mays and Hank Thompson.)

## THE CLASSIFIEDS



[Classified ads are five cents a word. Count your own words and send payment with ad to the DC Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009. Deadline: 15th of the month.]

**PROFESSIONAL BARTENDERS** Will Service Parties and Special Occasions in Your Home. \$33 Minimum. Call Jim 337-2307 [fb]

**TEMPORARY TYPIST**, 65-70 WPM, \$5.75/HR. on the books. Raymond, 667-6228. Leave message. (Rolodex me under "Typist.").

**THE ESTABLISHMENT** can be changed so there are no rich and no poor. Guardian Angels explain in the book, OAHSP. \$12.00 postpaid. K. Emmons, 1720 South King Avenue, Lakeland FLA. 33803 [jn]

**PROGRESSIVE PERIODICALS DIRECTORY** now available! Good for networking, publicity, details on 400 periodicals about peace, health, environment, culture, international...entire left. \$4 from Box E-120574, Nashville 37212. [mr]

We have not recommended they leave -- US diplomat Kenneth Kurze speaking of American students in Grenada the Sunday before the invasion.

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Fred Foldvary, *AGAINST THE WALL*

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# FREE PARKING

THE Major 1984 Presidential Candidates: Their Records on Arms Control and the Military Budget. \$5 from the Council for a Livable World Education Fund, 11 Beacon St., Boston MA 02108.

The Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy has a new catalog of 30 minute tapes on subjects ranging from art to anarchism and from the anti-nuke movement in the US to revolutionary movements in Latin America. For a copy send \$1 to GARC, 2743 Maryland Ave, Baltimore Md. 21218.

CO-OP MEDICAL INSURANCE: the largest employee-owned insurance company in America has teamed up with Co-Op America to offer a comprehensive health care insurance program. The plan offers standard medical procedures plus an array of alternative health care services such as acupuncture, holistic healing, naturopathic care and

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In some European countries, small circulation political and alternative journals keep going with the aid of supporting subscribers who contribute a sum in addition to the normal subscription fee to aid the publication in its work. You will note on your renewal form that there is such a category. We hope you will indicate your support of our efforts by subscribing at a rate of \$15.00 or more rather than at the normal fee. This will allow us not only to continue as an advocacy journal, but to carry on various activities which, while desirable, are not particularly cost-effective, e.g. reaching public officials and groups that might not otherwise subscribe, subsidizing subscriptions for low-income persons, and serving as a resource for groups and individuals seeking social change. We hope you will become a supporting subscriber when you renew, which, incidentally, you can do right now by sending \$15 or more and a sample from your mailing label to the DC Gazette, 1739 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009.

midwives' services. Also included are reproductive procedures for men and women, well baby care, unisex rates and lower premiums for helathy lifestyles.

The plan is run on a cooperative basis and allows insured members a say in the decisions over the benefits and premiums. Under a patronage refund system, unused premiums are returned to the insured member each year. The insurer, Consumers United Insurance Company, has been in business since 1970, has \$25 million in assets and 70,000 people insured. For information, write Co-Op America 2100 M St. NW, #605, DC 20063 or call 1-800-424-9711 (ext 5307).

LADYSLIPPER CATALOG: a 48-page catalog of women's record and tapes, songbooks, shirts and other

items. Write Ladyslipper Inc., PO Box 3124, Durham NC 27705

## "Totally Useless"

"I do not believe we can avoid serious and unacceptable risk of nuclear war until we recognize—and until we base all our military plans, defense budgets, weapon deployments, and arms negotiations on the recognition—that nuclear weapons serve no military purpose whatsoever. They are totally useless—except only to deter one's opponent from using them."

Robert S. MacNamara  
Secretary of Defense, 1961-68  
September 1983

-Defense Monitor

## An Uncommon Holiday Shopping List:

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## NFZ Resources

\* **Nuclear Free America** has prepared a series of organizing "notes" on **Nuclear Free Investments and Boycotts, Alternative Revenue and Alternative Budgets, Wording NFZ Ordinances, By-Laws, and Charter Amendments, Researching the Military Industrial Complex, Conversion, and Civil Defense Alternatives.** They address the major issues and concerns raised by NFZ campaigns over the last few months as well as newer issues such as nuclear divestment and human needs. The notes are being incorporated into our Organizing Packet and are also available separately. For a complete set (9 pages), send \$1 to "Notes", Nuclear Free America, 2521 Guilford Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218.

\* **The Highlander Research and Education Center** has published an excellent booklet on "How to Research your Local Military Contractor" which we recommend highly. In fact, we've never seen anything better. The booklet addresses the details of researching contracts, contractors, and the broader costs of military spending: how to measure the impact of local contractors on occupational health and safety, the environment, land and minerals, and economic security. It also includes a brief section on how to file and follow-up on the Freedom of Information requests needed to file to obtain much of the above information. 16 pages; available for \$3 from Highlander, Rte 3, Box 370, New Market, TN, 37820.

\* A handbook on "Signature Gathering — Identifying & Mobilizing Your Support" is available from the **Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.** We recommend it highly for anyone involved in canvassing campaigns. The handbook addresses the "how to" of gathering signatures via canvassing, tables, house parties, etc., and how to test and decide which of these methods to use. It also contains extremely useful sections on what to do with signatures once you've collected them and how to train others in signature gathering. 37 pages; available (free?) from the Freeze National Clearinghouse, 4144 Lindell Blvd, Suite 404, St. Louis, MO, 63108.

**Target Nicaragua: Inside a Covert War.** A remarkable report on covert war being carried out by the CIA against the Sandinist government of Nicaragua. Convicted saboteurs, spies, and former Somoza guardsmen testify to their often coerced participation. Sale: \$600/rental: \$60. Contact: New Time Films, Inc., 74 Varick Street, New York, NY 10013.

**First Strike! The Pentagon's Strategy for Nuclear War,** Robert Aldridge's new book, is now available from South End Press, 302 Columbus Avenue, Boston, MA 02116; 320 pages, \$8.50.

Public Media, Inc. would like to help you reach out to your community. Whether you are talking to 30 strangers or 30,000 constituents, a film can be a wonderful aid in getting your message across, raising funds, and attracting media attention. In addition to offering advice, information and guidance in planning the use of your films, a new series of programs has been created, specifically focusing on issues of Peace, Preservation and Social Justice. Please call Sydney Levine at 212-247-8050 if you have any questions, or ideas you'd like to discuss.

A national GI assistance project is being organized by John Judge, one of the premier draft and military counselors of the Vietnam era and a former trainer for CCCO. The project is to include a toll-free referral hotline connecting soldiers to counselors, emergency counseling for AWOL or isolated GIs, literature, and counselor training. Financial and personal support is needed. Contact: John Judge, PO Box 42508, Philadelphia, PA 19101; (215) 222-6661.

**The New Abolitionist** is the newsletter of Nuclear-Free America. It informs the public of nuclear-free zones in the U.S. The newsletter also helps communities which are trying to become nuclear-free to be successful. \$10/year, including an organizing packet. Contact: Nuclear-Free America, 2521 Guilford Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218.

**Central America Reports** document the findings of the UUSC's delegates in Guatemala and El Salvador. The reports offer not only fact, but also methods for citizen action on these issues. Contact: Central America Reports, Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, 78 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108. Please specify. \$2 each.

**Dollars and Dictators** is a book-length examination of U.S. military involvement and aid in Central American problems. The slide shows **Dollars and Dictators, In Pursuit of Refuge, and Honduras: On the Edge of War** offer a realistic interpretation of the Central American situation. Contact: The Resource Center, P.O. Box 4726, Albuquerque, NM 87196. Book, \$7 each. Each slide show is \$65; \$25 for weekly rental.

**What's Wrong in Central America and What To Do About It** provides a penetrating analysis of U.S. presence and policy in Central America and a critical survey of recent peace initiatives. The book offers a challenge to U.S. policymakers and an agenda of action for concerned citizens. Contact: American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102. 1-10, \$3 each; ten or more, \$2.50 each.

**A Survey of Freedom of the Press in Latin America** documents the violations of press liberty in both Central and South American countries. Contact: The Council on Hemispheric Affairs, The Newspaper Guild, 1900-L Street, NW, Room 201, Washington, DC 20036.

**Amandla** is a teaching resource on South Africa. Aimed at the high school level, it makes the link between the current struggle against apartheid and South African history. *Amandla* contains a two-part video, a script, and a teacher's guide. Contact: Washington Office on Africa Educational Fund, 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002. Purchase: \$80 for slide show, \$50 for film strip, and \$120 for videotape. To rent: (slide version only) \$20/two days.

**What About the Children?** is a powerful booklet which outlines the threat of nuclear war and the public's responsibility to work for peace. Includes strategies. Free, but donations welcome. Contact: Parents and Teachers for Social Responsibility, Box 517, Moretown, VT 05660.

**Military Expansion, Economic Decline** is a study by the Council on Economic Priorities which analyzes military spending as related to economic growth and concludes that as the military budget grows, the U.S. economy weakens. Contact: Council on Economic Priorities, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. \$11.95.

**One Million Hiroshimas.** It makes one single point: There can be no more Hiroshimas. At the second Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, doctors, scientists, and military experts from 35 countries addressed the greatest single threat to health that the world has ever known—nuclear war. 16mm film. Sale: \$350/rental: \$50. Contact: Resource Center for Nonviolence, P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063. 408-423-1626.

**"Teaching Nuclear Issues" Kit** includes the secondary Guide plus a packet of teaching materials including maps, charts, four spirit masters, fact sheets and other background reading for secondary teachers. (\$10 each plus \$1.25 postage, \$8.00 each for 10 or more copies, plus 5% postage.) Order from Nuclear Information Resource Service, 1346 Conn. Ave. NW, 4th Floor, Washington, DC 20036. Allow 4 weeks for delivery.

**Namibia's Stolen Wealth** is an analysis of the relationship between South Africa's Namibia policy and American corporate involvement. The book includes a realistic and penetrating policy analysis and a reliable history of Namibian discontent. (\$2.50) **Divesting from Apartheid** is a guide to citizen involvement on the South African situation. (1-20, 30¢ each; 21 or more, 15¢ each). **South Africa Literature List 1983** is an extensive list of works on political and human rights issues in South Africa (free). Contact: The Africa Fund of the American Committee on Africa, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10083.

**An Activist's Guide to Vietnam** is a brochure which aims to educate the public to the mistakes made in Vietnam and how they could have been averted. The pamphlet also offers solutions to the parallel situation in Central America and suggests ways that concerned citizens can learn from the mistakes of Vietnam and become active in peace work. Contact: AFSC Peace Education Project, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102. 1-99, 25¢ each; 100 for \$10.

**The Freeze Economy** is a manual for peace activists on the economic problems and promise of a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze. It offers long-term economic alternatives, resources for peace activists, and information on local organizing. Contact: Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project, 222 C View Street, Mountain View, CA 94041. \$2.50 each; 2-24 \$2 each; 25-100, \$1.50 each; and over 200 \$1.25 each.

With thanks to Nuclear Free America  
and the Coalition for a New Foreign and  
Military Policy.

# WAITING FOR REAGAN

Mary Jo McConahay

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA -- The lights are going out in this sprawling tropical city where 650,000 Nicaraguans live.

Few street lamps glow at night. Children study under dim yellow bulbs. And their parents go about switching off other lights with a zeal much like that Americans displayed during the energy crisis of the early 1970s.

Like a one-two punch crippling the rhythm of their daily rounds, the bombing of Nicaragua's oil facilities last month at Puerto Corinto by CIA-backed Contras, and the U.S. invasion of Grenada -- which they fear previews similar action here -- have left Managua's families reeling.

"We have a phrase 'to save'," says housewife and mother Mirta Briceno who lives in a middle-class section of the capital. She uses the Spanish "ahorro", a common word which has become newly charged in crisis-ridden Nicaragua.

Sometimes Managuans treat "el ahorro" with resigned good humor. In a current cartoon panel, the average worker is depicted sitting at his desk all day without opening his drawers to "avoid depreciation of furniture," "rejecting three jobs" rather than plug in a calculator, and leaving the office early to avoid turning on the electric light. Besides, he says, "I have to be fresh for tomorrow."

More often, however, el ahorro is deadly serious. "These actions affect us 'in carne propia' -- in our own flesh," says Briceno.

Indeed, if decades of Somoza dictatorship, a bloody revolution and a sinking economy had already wounded this capital, the energy squeeze, the bombing at Corinto and fear of invasion are rapidly draining its psychological blood banks.

In recent weeks:

-- The price of regular gasoline has risen by 58 percent to \$1.75 per gallon, and stricter rationing has been imposed.

-- Where propane gas is sold, householders with their silver-colored tanks wait in long lines "because they're afraid it might not be available tomorrow," according to a gas station owner.

-- The work week for government offices has been reduced from six to five days, with extended hours Monday through Friday, in a move to save energy.

-- Newspapers are newly limited to one rather than two issues on weekends, to save both energy and paper.

-- The black market continues stronger than ever with a single U.S. dollar bringing as much as 110 cordobas. The official exchange rate: 28 cordobas for one U.S. dollar.

As tension grows, Managuans themselves are set one against the other. On Sunday,

Oct. 30, angry members of Sandinista youth and neighborhood organizations confronted clergy and worshippers in disturbances at Catholic Churches where priests spoke out against the Sandinistas' new mandatory military draft. Some of those protestors were also church-going members of the same parishes who disagreed with the priests' verbal attacks on the Sandinistas.

On the following Sunday "we didn't go to Mass because we were afraid the fanatics would strike again," said a housewife in the Ciudad Jardin area, who asked that her name not be used.

"Look around and you see a dead city," declared a pharmacist who says business has deteriorated steadily in the last two years for lack of supplies, and that recent events are merely more "nails in the coffin."

A customer who came in to buy aspirin, toothpaste and baby powder was told they weren't available. "Every month I have less in my shop," said the pharmacist.

A subsequent search for these items located aspirin and poor-quality toothpaste at another pharmacy, and baby powder in a locked wooden cabinet in a luxury hotel shop, at \$4 for a small bottle.

Of much greater concern, especially to those who live in agricultural settlements in the border areas, are the Contra attacks -- which have



claimed hundreds of lives in recent months.

As a result of the attacks, the poor state of the economy, and resistance to the new conscription law, some Nicaraguans are leaving, often risking illegal immigration status in other countries, including the United States and Mexico.

According to Mexican immigration lawyer Armando Vasquez, "almost 99 percent" of the Nicaraguans who fled to Mexico by the thousands during the 1977-79 revolution had returned home after the Sandinista victory. "Now, unfortunately, we're starting to see the Nicaraguans again."

There is no apparent mass

## CHARLES MCDOWELL

WASHINGTON -- A question arose in the office about the divestiture of American Telephone & Telegraph Co., and I was consulted. But I could not understand the question. No matter; I would call a friend at the Wall Street Journal bureau and get the answer.

Rather grandly, I punched out the number on my telephone. There ensued a great yecowling in my ear, and then a mysterious clicking followed after a time by a voice saying, with great poise under the circumstances, "Wall Street Journal."

I asked for my friend. After a polite acknowledgment, I was subjected to a series of rings, clicks, rings, beeps, more rings, and then a stern female voice saying I should dial the number again after checking it in the directory. It was that recorded woman at AT&T -- I would know her anywhere.

That woman had no business in the Wall Street Journal's Washington switchboard. I stayed on the line. The clicking resumed, with an occasional beep, and once I heard a male voice, not my friend's, saying something about a table for two at one o'clock. Then the original voice, the kind one, came on and said, "Wall Street Journal."

This time she produced my friend without incident, and I said, "This divestiture has ruined the phone service."

He was on two other lines and had a call-waiting signal on one of those, and he would call me back. He did, too, but by then we had found the answer to the question, whatever it was.

★ ★ ★

At the time my friend called back, somebody was talking to me on the intercom of our office telephones, and a light was blinking on my phone. So I never asked him what was wrong with the internal system at his office.

I did not really want to know. We can assume that the Wall Street Journal has some marvelous new telephone setup -- all the big offices do -- and that not everyone, even there, understands it, and that I simply had been caught up in a concatenation of marvels that mere newspaper reporters ought not to have to cope with.

What worries me, to tell the truth, is not the confusion created by divestiture but the confusion created by the contemporary telephone itself. When I catch up to the state of the telephonic art, only then will I be ready to confront the problems of divestiture, new regional companies, new rates and access charges, and buying telephones in stores.

★ ★ ★

Thomas Harwood, a Virginia State Corporation commissioner, yearns for something he calls POTS. That stands for "plain old telephone service."

As some of us remember it, POTS involved having an instrument on which you could call people up. That was about it -- no vast range of electronic options, automatic switchers, dampers, conference-call feedback

keys, and geosynchronous downlink capabilities.

★ ★ ★

I am not against progress. The push-button telephone is clearly superior to the old dial, and the old dial was superior to turning a crank and yelling the number at a woman named Central.

What is not so clear to me is that Central was not superior to a telephone system so sophisticated that I can't call somebody up without technological trauma.

This is not merely the opinion of some professionally quaint, middle-aged newspaper columnist. I have begun to notice -- haven't you? -- that people are giving each other private numbers and saying, "If you ever really need to get me, call this number."

Movie stars, White House assistants and pretentious press agents used to do that, but not ordinary people. Now ordinary people are putting simple, one-call-at-a-time, no-marvel telephones into their offices. You see these plain old telephones there on the desk beside the blinking consoles with the downlink capabilities.

Most of these plain old telephones have no secret or even private purpose. They are used to overcome marvels and the human intermediaries of marvels, and they make possible the efficient use of the telephone to talk to people.

[Richmond Times-Dispatch]



exodus from Managua however, and many say they are digging in, despite the prospect of a long, dark winter. "We've lost too much already," says Mirta Bricena. Bricena is active in one of the local Sandinista Defense Committees, which have organized neighbors in the capital block-by-block for night patrols, fire-fighting, protection from aerial bombardment and caring for children during an enemy attack. In Managua's poorest sec-

tion, where light bulbs and cars are rare even in the best of times and high prices are most difficult to bear, residents say that recent events at Corinto and in Grenada make them feel once again they are "under attack".

In the Barrio Rigüero district, where some of the heaviest fighting took place in the final days before the overthrow of Somoza, and many lost family members, the

"digging in" mentality seems particularly strong.

"If we don't have rice, we'll eat something else," the local Catholic pastor, Fr. Uriel Molina, told his packed church during a recent hot Sunday service. "The important thing is not to lose hope."

Episcopal clergyman Rev. Henry H. Sturtevant of New York was one of several "internationalists" who also attended Fr. Molina's Mass. As the first headlines about the

U.S. military operation in Grenada appeared, Sturtevant was one of dozens of Americans who presented a statement at the gate of the U.S. embassy saying "we do not want to be 'rescued' should a similar event occur, as many locals fear in Nicaragua."

"Those who live here feel under seige now," says Sturtevant, "as if an invasion had already taken place."

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## FACT SHEET ON GRENADA

The U.S. invasion of Grenada (pop. 110,000) was accompanied by secrecy unprecedented in modern U.S. history. Congress was not consulted during preparations for the invasion. Rather, it was informed just hours before the invasion took place, long after the marines were on their way.

The night before the invasion, White House spokesman Larry Speakes denied the possibility of such an invasion, calling it "preposterous" and "untrue." [One White House spokesman, Les Janka, resigned, citing damage to his credibility.(1)]

No reporters were allowed on Grenada until days after the invasion began—thus the only information on the invasion came from U.S. government sources. As the facts unfold, it is clear why access to Grenada was denied. During the first crucial days of the invasion the Reagan administration was able to win the battle of public opinion by controlling what information the public would have on which to base its opinion. Only now, almost two weeks after the invasion, are the assertions of the Reagan administration being challenged with facts gathered from independent sources. Every day brings further evidence of the "disinformation" that was fed to the American people by our own government.

This press censorship and government misinformation is justified in the name of "restoring democracy" to Grenada. What does democracy mean if not the right of the people to have the facts about our government's operations? Without information, democracy is in peril. For in the words of Thomas Jefferson:

"Whenever the people are well informed, they can be trusted with their government, for whenever things go so far wrong to attract their notice, they can be relied on to set things right."

The purpose of this brochure is to summarize some of the facts that have come out as of November 7th that contradict the claims made by the government—so that the people can "set things right."

### Are Reagan's Reasons for the Invasion Credible?

#### WERE THE STUDENTS IN DANGER?

One of the government's stated reasons for the invasion was to protect the 1,000 U.S. students attending the St. George's Medical School. Yet Dean Bourne and Deputy Head Dr. Modica apparently did not feel that the students were in jeopardy. They had been given assurances by Gen. Austin of the ruling council about the safety of the students, and had been provided vehicles to transport students from one campus to the other to ensure their safety during the curfew.(2)

On the Wednesday before the invasion, the medical school's New York office received a call from the U.S. ambassador to Barbados, asking Dr. Modica to go to Barbados and publicly ask the U.S. to intervene to protect the students. He refused. Peter Bourne, faculty member, got a call that same day from a conservative trustee of the school, telling him that the Administration was asking the trustees to say that the students were in danger, even though they were not.(3)

The ruling council even invited U.S. diplomats to Grenada to confirm the safety of U.S. nationals. The weekend before the invasion, two U.S. embassy counselors in Barbados visited Grenada and admitted that they could see no danger to the students.(4)

The students apparently did not feel their lives were in jeopardy until the morning of the invasion. One woman said, "The only time I felt endangered was when the Americans bombed nearby. The whole time I was there not once did I hear of Grenadians or Cubans threatening any students. It was thanks to the good will of the Cubans and Grenadians that I didn't get hurt."(5)

In a vote taken before the invasion, only 10% of the students

indicated that they wanted to leave the island. More than 500 parents sent a telegram to Reagan pleading with him not to invade. Hours after the invasion began Dr. Modica told a New York press conference, "I think the President has taken some very unnecessary action in view of the fact that those students could have been lifted out of there today and tomorrow."(6)

#### WAS THE AIRPORT CLOSED?

The Reagan administration did not reveal until several days after the invasion that it had received assurances from Gen. Austin concerning the safety of the students, and promising that any students who wanted to leave would be allowed to.(7) Instead, Administration spokesmen said that the airport was closed.

In fact, the airport was reopened on the Monday before the invasion, and the curfew was relaxed. At least four planes and more than thirty people left Grenada that day, directly contradicting Reagan's claim.(8) Although it may have been difficult to find seats on planes leaving Grenada, that was because the Caribbean nations working with the U.S. refused to fly their planes to Grenada.(9)

On the day that the Reagan administration claimed the airport was closed (thus preventing U.S. students who wished to leave from doing so) the airport was actually open and functioning smoothly, according to people who left on one of the four planes to depart that day.

#### WHO INVITED THE U.S. TO INTERVENE?

Though the invasion was illegal under the United Nations and Organization of American States charters, Reagan claimed that it was justified by the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) treaty, and that the "invitation" from some of the signers of that treaty legalized the U.S. action.

But the OECS treaty would have provided justification only if Grenada was about to launch an invasion of another island, and then only if the decision was unanimous.(10) The decision to invade was made by only four of the seven signatories to the treaty.(11) The dissenting OECS countries noted that the treaty called on members to protect each other in times of crisis, and was never intended to overrule the terms of the UN and OAS charters.(12)

Most astounding, however, is that the invitation for the U.S. to intervene was actually drafted by the U.S. State Department, according to *The New York Times*, and then sent down to the relevant nations(13) And the supposed request by Sir Paul Scoon also had no legal weight, as he was merely the British

# Mental hospital bombed: 50 patients feared dead

By CHARLES LACHMAN  
Post Correspondent  
ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — A mental hospital here has been accidentally bombed and as many as 50 patients killed after the building was apparently mistaken for a rebel fort, according to a nurse and the hospital's manager.

Officials at the hospital said they believe the bombing was committed by U.S. forces who saw Grenadian soldiers

fleeing into the hospital for sanctuary. The U.S. troops, unfamiliar with this capital city, apparently did not realize the building was a hospital. The hospital officials said they bore the U.S. no ill will, and in fact said they could understand how something like this could have happened in time of war.

Most of the bodies at the 183-patient Richmond Hill Mental Hospital in St. George's remain buried beneath

tons of brick and rubble. The bombing of the hospital was discovered during an unauthorized tour of Grenada that took a Post reporter and photographer down the length of the war-torn island along the coastal route.

At this date, 18 bodies have been recovered. "There will be many more," said Richmond Hill Hospital manager Clement Gabriel.

The bombing occurred on Tuesday, the first

day of the invasion.

Hospital officials said it happened during the height of the battle for Fort Frederick, a Grenadian military post overlooking St. George's that was one of the primary targets.

As aircraft strafed the fort, a handful of Grenadian soldiers fled the fort for sanctuary in the hospital, which is located a quarter-mile downhill.

"We believe the Americans mistook the hospital for the fort when they

saw the Grenadian Army boys running here," said nurse Alice Celestine.

She said there were 114 men and 69 women patients inside the hospital when the shells fell.

Most of the staff had not reported for work because of the battle. There were nurses on duty who witnessed the bombing, but they could not be located.

"The patients were mostly on the second floor, in their rooms relaxing," said Miss Celestine.

Gabriel, the hospital manager, said, "When I came to the hospital I saw many, many casualties and deaths."

"I got a van and we assisted in taking the injured to the hospital."

He said 14 wounded remain at General Hospital in St. George's.

Sixty-six other patients were unharmed, making 84 unaccounted for.

However, an unknown number of patients escaped in the chaotic aftermath of the bombing.

How many more bodies will actually be found remains unknown.

## 'You Americans have saved us!'

Continued from Page 5

tion for the invasion. In every village we passed we were cheered.

They said that America's actions rescued Grenada from Cuba and communism.

"Americans are our saviors," said Patrick Aspaull, 23, in the village of Chantimel. Aspaull said he had been an officer in the Army until his court-martial and imprisonment for three months for "saying

things contrary to party socialism."

"Even those who fought in the Grenadian Army against the Americans did not genuinely want to," he said.

"We now have a lot of work we must do to rebuild our country."

Theresa Juliet, owner of "Big T," a snack bar in the town of St. John, said she was the local representative of slain Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. "I heard that I was on

the Revolutionary Council's list to be executed," she said. "I have been in hiding at my mother's since the coup and have only now come out. Now, I feel safe."

Asked why the Grenadian army is not resisting U.S. troops, she said, "They aren't fighting because they don't know who they're fighting for."

As for the Cuban guerrillas, she said, "Why didn't the Cubans fight

when our Prime Minister was murdered. They said they came here to help the country but they are only holding the country back."

She said most of the Grenadian militia who retreated to the hills when the U.S. invaded have come back to their homes.

"You will never see them in uniform again."

In the town of Victoria, Conrad Paris, 68, who

Continued on Page 8

CARTOON

COURTESY OF

NEW YORK POST: Oct. 31, '83

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representative to Grenada, without any legal power.(14) In fact, England condemned the invasion. It has also been reported that Sir Scoon did not mention making such a request when he met with a British official on Grenada shortly before the invasion.

### WAS THE INVASION "JUST IN TIME" TO PREVENT A TAKEOVER BY THE SOVIETS AND THE CUBANS?

The U.S. has leaked a story that during a June visit to the U.S., Maurice Bishop made a secret deal with national security advisor Clark to "return to constitutional government" and reduce relations with the socialist bloc in return for the U.S. softening its hostile stance toward Grenada. The consequence, according to this story, was the pro-Soviet and pro-Cuban elements killed Bishop to prevent this deal.

Bishop's own report of his meeting with Clark is quite different. He reported that he found little sympathy in Washington despite his expressed desire to improve relations with the U.S. (because of the disastrous economic consequences Washington's hard line was having for Grenada).(15)

This story also ignores the close ties and friendship that existed between Bishop and Cuban premier Fidel Castro. Cuba's own public statements issued after Bishop's death, and their declaration of three days of mourning, challenge the credibility of this theory.(16)

When Gen. Austin made a last-minute request to Cuba for assistance against the U.S. invasion, Castro said the request "was not easy to grant after the things that have happened in that country," and that sending reinforcements was "impossible and unthinkable."(17)

### WAS THE AIRSTRIP FOR TOURISTS OR FOR MILITARY USES?

The administration, and most U.S. press, continue to cite the "huge airstrip" being built on Grenada as proof of a threat to U.S. security. But there had been plans to build a larger airstrip for 25 years to accommodate the large planes that could bring tourists to

the island on nonstop flights. The airstrip, which would be the sixth airport of its size in the Caribbean, was favorably viewed by the world Bank. At least half of its financing came from western European countries, and construction was being underwritten by the British.

The airstrip was being built to civil, not military standards.(18) And the contractor said it was not sufficiently reinforced to be of much use for military purposes.

### GRENADA'S SHOCKING ARSENAL OF MODERN WEAPONS

Military sources were quoted saying they were "shocked" when they came upon "enormous supplies of modern ammunition and weapons." Days later—after this claim was widely circulated as yet another justification for the invasion—journalists actually got a look at this "modern arsenal." They found that it consisted primarily of out-of-date rifles—some more than 100 years old! And the six warehouses, "piled high with weapons" turned out to be two warehouses less than half full of weapons, one less than a

The "invitation" for the U.S. to intervene was actually drafted by the U.S. State Department, according to *The New York Times*.



quarter full, one filled with kitchen equipment, another with food, and another empty. (19) Heavy equipment consisted of four mortars.

### WHERE DID ALL THE CUBANS GO?

According to Reagan, U.S. military forces were "staggered by the depth and strength of the Cuban military presence on the island." Reagan asserted that instead of the 800 construction workers Cuba admitted having on Grenada, there were close to 1,200 Cubans (some estimates went vaguely higher) most of whom were "professional soldiers" constituting a "military force."

The Defense Department has now admitted that they "do not dispute" the Cuban estimate of 784 Cuban nationals, and no more than 20% of them could be characterized as military personnel. (20) Reporters present at the disembarking of the first captured Cubans to be sent home noted that "Many... appeared to be well beyond the age and below the physical condition usually associated with active military personnel." (21)

### MAKING GRENADA SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY

The Reagan administration has always been hostile to the New Jewel Movement, the revolutionary party that peacefully overthrew the regime of Sir Eric Gairy. The Gairy regime was widely known to be corrupt, fraudulent, and repressive: ballot boxes were stuffed, political opponents executed, and women forced to submit to sexual relations with Gairy and others to obtain jobs. The revolution of 1979 was very popular among the people, yet Reagan refused to grant any form of aid to the new government and for years considered military action against it.

This claim is even more unbelievable given the Reagan administration's support of undemocratic governments such as South Africa and virtually every right-wing dictatorship in the world.

### CIVILIAN CASUALTIES WERE COVERED UP

For days following the invasion, administration spokesmen proudly stated that there had been no civilian casualties as a result of the invasion. In fact, from the first day of the invasion there were civilian casualties—a fact that was known to the administration. (23) On November 1st, the Defense Department acknowledged that at least 12 people were killed when a U.S. Navy plane bombed a hospital during the early hours of the

invasion (other sources say as many as 46 people were killed in the bombing.) The hospital was completely destroyed; yet the administration claimed that destruction of buildings was "minimal." (24)

When asked why there had been incorrect information given about civilian casualties, White House spokesman Larry Speakes said that one factor could be the Grenadians' custom of "burying their dead early." (25)

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23. NYT, Nov. 1, p. A1, B. Drummond Ayres, Jr.; NY Post, Oct. 31, p. 7, Charles Lachman; Village Voice, Nov. 8, p. 8, Paul McIsaac
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27. Grenada: The Peaceful Revolution, by EPICA, 1982
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For additional information, see NYT, Nov. 6, p. 20, "In Wake of Invasion, Much Official Misinformation Comes to Light," by Stuart Taylor, Jr.

## The Dress Rehearsal

From October 1-15 1981—two years before the invasion of Grenada—the Western Alliance conducted the largest naval maneuvers since World War II. They involved more than 120,000 troops, 250 ships, and 1,000 aircraft from 14 countries. In the maneuvers the west battled the communists in the Caribbean and the south and north Atlantic.

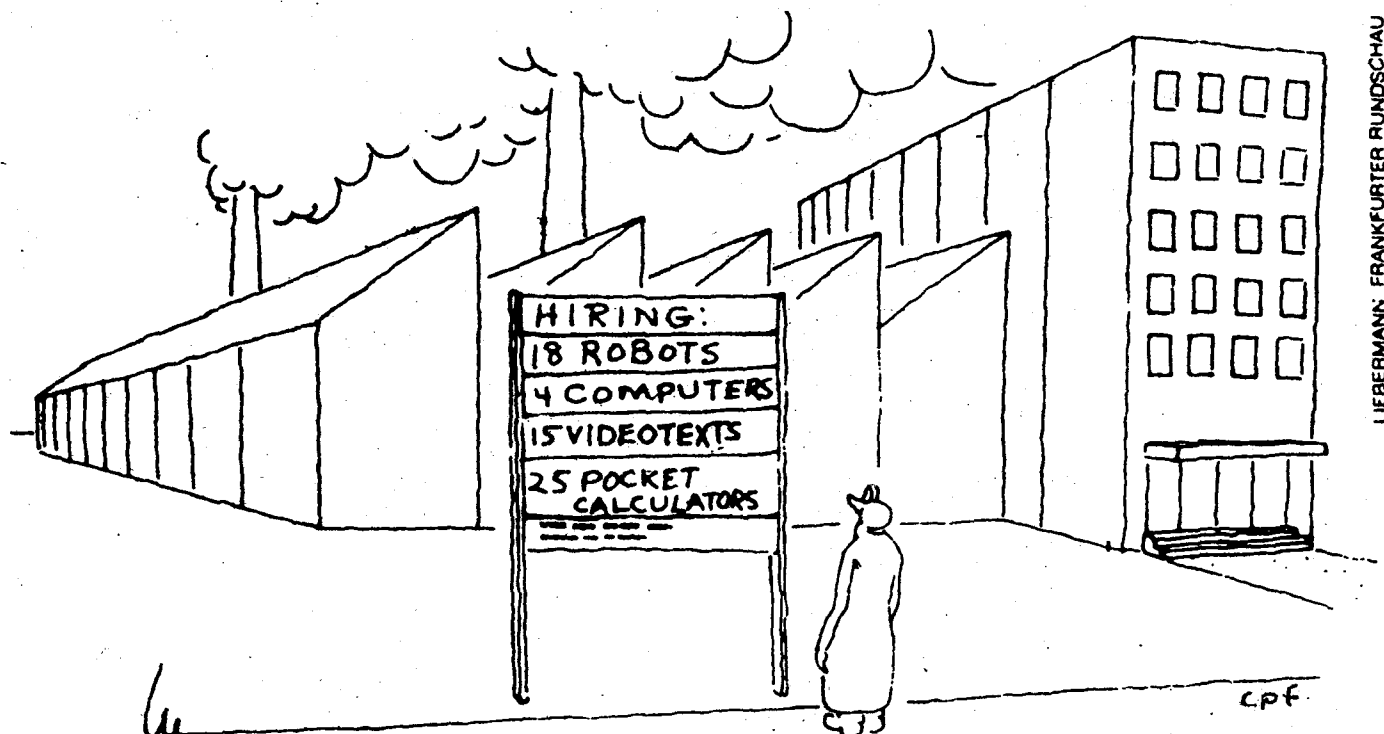
The focus of the Caribbean part of the maneuvers was a large island code-named "Red" (read Cuba), and the fictitious island of Amber, an island in the Ambersines, labeled "our enemy in the Caribbean." This obvious reference to Grenada and the Grenadines shocked and frightened Grenadians, especially since the scenario called for "Amber" to seize hostages and be invaded by the U.S. after negotiations broke down. (26)

As described by the Ecumenical Program for InterAmerican Communications and Action (EPICA) in its book, *Grenada: The Peaceful Revolution*:

"After rescuing the 'hostages' and seizing power, according to the fictional scenario, the American troops would stay on Amber Island 'to install a regime favorable to the way of life we espouse' and opposed to the previous 'unfriendly' Amber government."

"The hostage scenario represented an ominous turn in U.S. strategy against Grenada. A seizure of American hostages is probably the one event which would be guaranteed to raise emotions high enough in the United States for the U.S. government to justify to the American people an overt military invasion of Grenada." (27)

Furthermore, Evan Galbreath, U.S. Ambassador to France, said in an October 26th interview on French television that the invasion "was an action which had begun two weeks ago"—placing the planning of the invasion a week before the death of Maurice Bishop. (28)





SAM SMITH

The rhubarb over DC home rule powers, with Congress going home without resolving anything, reminds one again of Augustus Woodward's early admonition against mixing large and small concerns. It also reminds one of the efficiency -- as well as the desirability -- of statehood. As things now stand, no one is quite sure how to get out of the mess, since statehood is not even considered an option, but several possibilities have been recommended. One sensible one, suggested by DC officials, would be for Congress to pass an act validating all legislation approved by the city council to date and stating that if any part of the home rule act is declared unconstitutional, the rest of the measure will stand.

There is added pressure to get the matter straight due to the city hall's manic desire to get into the bond market, something that may be less of a boon to the ordinary citizen than the mayor would have you believe. One gets the sense, listening to DC officials talk, that they are like someone who think their problems will be solved if they just get another credit card.

After a two year battle, WPFW has had its license renewed by the FCC. This was an important victory for civil liberties in broadcasting and was bitterly opposed by the right-wing American Legal Foundation. The FCC did call WPFW on the carpet for failing to keep a public file on programming.

A census of the homeless in DC taken in October found that shelters are averaging 886 people a night -- up 27 percent over the previous year. Meanwhile, the number of beds had declined by 120 to 872 citywide.

The transportation department was chagrined to get its consultant's report on Reno Road. Main conclusion: make Reno one lane in each direction. We're told DOT tried to get the consultant to change its views but had no luck.

The Freeze Walk here this fall raised over \$10,000. It was one of the most successful in the country.

If you've missed the voice of Craig Oliver on WAMU this fall, it's because he's moved on from news director to program director of the station. Craig became news director of WAMU in 1974 and since then has made it into one of the most informative news operations in the city.

There have been a number of changes at the local office of the ACLU. Executive director Leslie Harris has moved over to the ACLU national legislative office and development director Kathi Funk has left to become director of volunteers for Arena Stage.

The council has developed an automated legislative tracking system to assist citizens seeking information on council legislation. The system is able to produce within minutes what previously took days to compile. Now available will be reports listing legislation introduced by each councilmember, calendars of council committees, listing of reports in numerical order, legislative status reports and brief summaries of each pending measure.

What's getting lost in all the discussion of the sludge problem is a basic cause: overdevelopment. Years of incorrect or misleading estimates of sewage capacity are now coming back to haunt city officials. This has been just one of many development scams but it is a serious one. What no one seems to want to face up to is that we may need a building moratorium in this town until we find out what to do with the by-products of our progress.

In the alternative we might simply dump the stuff in the backyard of every city official, planner, developer, zoning lawyer and Washington Post editorialist who ever assured us there was nothing to worry about. Or better yet, institute a bathroom moratorium. Seal the toilets in all the buildings put up by Marion Barry's campaign contributors and make the occupants save it until they get back to the Beltway.

The Telecommunications Research and Action Committee has collected 4800 signatures on petitions opposing the C&P Telephone Company's request for optional measured service. TRACT estimates it got a 90% positive response from people approached by its canvassers.

[Please turn to page 22]

#### CORRECTION

Craig Oliver, program director of WAMU, says we got it wrong last month when we credited WPFW with being the second-ranked public station in town. According to the latest ratings, Whamoo is. Eighty-eight-point-five megapologies.

## REPORT CARD

Here is our monthly report card on the mayor and members of the city council. Generally speaking, we give 2 points plus or minus for votes on key issues (three in special cases) and 1 point plus or minus for introducing legislation or taking a position without taking any action. This month's issues:

- Publicly opposed the C&P rate increase proposal. Shackleton and Smith get two points for this because it is such an important issue.
- Opposed lifting mortgage rate ceiling to 24%. Only Rolark and Smith get two points; the rest get two points taken away.
- Introduced bill to protect consumers against auto lemons. Ray gets one point.
- Issued executive order requiring that at least fifty-one percent of new jobs involved in DC government contracts be given to DC residents. Barry gets a rare two points.
- Introduced bill to increase number of vegetable gardens in DC by using surplus government land. One point to Smith.
- Proposed legislation that would limit local property owners' efforts to block urban renewal projects like the international trade center. This lousy idea takes two points away from our mayor.

So the standings are

GRADE	NAME	POINTS
B	MASON	10
C	KANE	7
C	SHACKLETON	5
D	SMITH	4
F	CLARKE	0
F	ROLARK	0
F	WINTER	-1
F	RAY	-2
F	WILSON	-2
F	MOORE	-3
F	CRAWFORD	-3
F	SPAULDING	-4
F	JARVIS	-9
F	BARRY	-14

Any additions or corrections should be sent or called to the Gazette



# User Fees: Fair or Foul?

BY DAVID WILHELM

**T**he City of Los Angeles imposes over 300 different kinds of user fees on its residents. Since Congress adopted President Reagan's first budget in July 1981, the city has increased every one of them.

User fees have become popular in the County of Los Angeles, too. Revenue from "charges for services" in the County jumped from slightly over \$30 per capita in 1980 to nearly \$50 per capita in 1983. Marion County (Indianapolis), Indiana, doubled the amount it collected from user fees between 1980 and 1982.

Nationwide, according to a survey by Congress' Joint Economic Committee, city revenue from user fees climbed 21 percent between 1980 and 1982, faster than any other source of city funds.

Why all the sudden popularity of user fees? The answers aren't too hard to find. Severe cutbacks in federal assistance to state and local governments, combined with the impact of the recession on tax collections everywhere, have forced mayors, city managers, and county executives all across the country to scramble for money wherever they can find it. And in many locales, raising the property tax is not a viable or attractive option, because it is either prohibited by law (in Massachusetts and California) or politically unpopular (almost everywhere else).

Taxpayers are not as opposed to user fees as they are to more visible tax sources, like the property tax. According to a 1982 survey by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, when asked, "Suppose your local government must raise more revenue, which would be the best way to do it?" 55 percent of the respondents preferred user fees — 2½ times the support they gave any other revenue raiser.

User fees also fit neatly into the Reagan administration's and the business community's view of how government should work. (President Reagan, insiders say, was convinced to support the 5 cent-a-gallon increase in the federal gas tax last year only after his aides persuaded him that the gas tax was not a tax at all, but rather a "user fee" imposed on the nation's drivers.)

"User fees operate like a price in a market," says Bill Kenney, an economist with the United States Chamber of Commerce. "They provide a market test for government services, allowing government officials to evaluate how the public values different services."

"They allow us to get a handle on demand," adds Wes Hough, a research associate at the Municipal Finance Officers Association. "They help make public management more professional."

But it's not just the twin goals of efficient allocation of public resources and relatively painless "revenue enhancement" that are driving more and more governments to the doorstep of user fees. They also fit neatly into a view of the world where the fundamental question of tax policy is not, "Who is able to pay?" but rather, "Who benefits?"

"User fees put the financial burden on the person who actually benefits from a government service," says the Chamber's Kenney. "We think that's fair."

User fees offer many advantages. They provide money to cash-starved local governments with little political fallout. They may result in a more efficient mix of public services. And everybody — even people who can afford to hire high-priced attorneys to find every conceivable loophole in the federal income tax code — pays them, every time they use a public service.

But are user fees the panacea for local revenue woes that some of their more fervent supporters

claim them to be? Probably not. What seems to be a great idea has a number of flaws.

The biggest shortcoming is that user fees are generally levied without regard for the ability of low-income people to pay them.

"People who say that user fees test the willingness of people to pay for public services are missing the crucial point that willingness depends a lot on how much money you have to start out with," says Rob McGarrah, director of public policy at the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.

Are user fees unfair? Will a new fee at a neighborhood swimming pool in the inner-city deny access to needy kids? Will skyrocketing tuition force poor high school graduates to drop out of college? Will new charges for public health services deny adequate health care to the urban poor?

These are not idle questions. According to a 1982 survey conducted by the International City Management Association (ICMA), "Fees for recreation facilities and cultural activities had noticeably increased since 1978." Twenty-six percent of the cities surveyed, for instance, had imposed a new fee on the use of "ball fields" since 1978.

"Why should poor people pay taxes," asks the Chamber's Kenney, "that implicitly subsidize facilities used almost exclusively by the well-off?" Yachting docks and golf courses, he says, would seem to fall in this category.

Even McGill of SEIU says that cities, if they choose to, "can do some pretty innovative things with user fees." She points to the example of Arlington County, Virginia, which is selling mass transit passes to recipients of public aid at a discount.

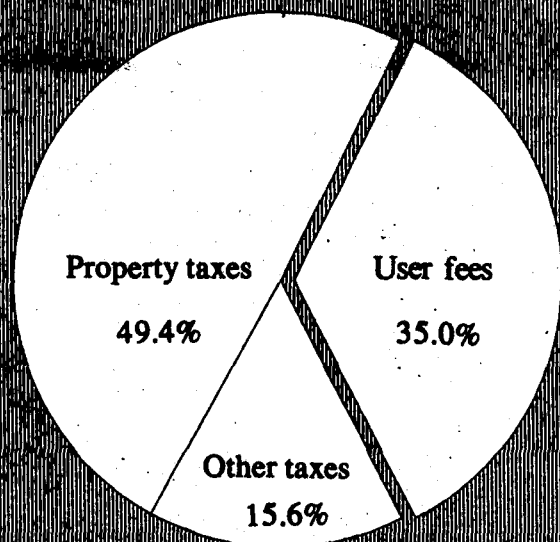
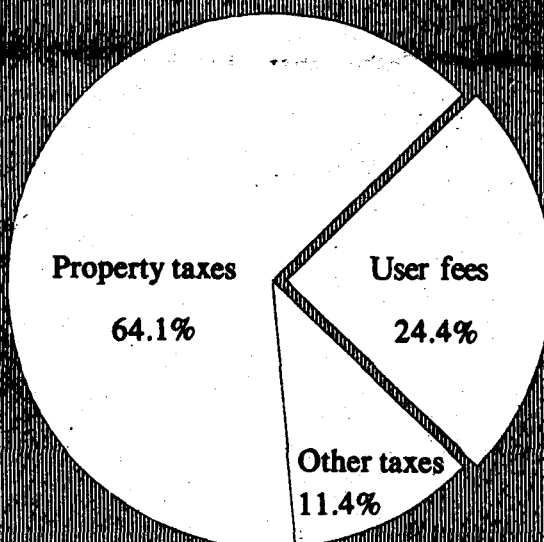
But both Schweke and Kenney argue that fiddling with user fees or market prices for redistributive purposes is bad policy. "If you're interested in redistributing income, do it up front — through transfers and the federal tax system," says Kenney.

"In an ideal world," says Schweke, "we would have more user fees at the state and local level, and do a better job of redistributing income at the federal level."

But critics of user fees do not stop with the fairness issue. They challenge the proponents' efficiency claims as well.

"User fees work best," according to MFOA's Hough, "when you can clearly identify who the

## The Growing Reliance on User Fees



Health services were another prime target for new user fees, according to the ICMA survey. Since 1978, 23 percent of the reporting cities had begun charging for emergency medical service for the first time, and 20 percent had added fees for outpatient clinics.

This kind of data disturbs Marcia McGill, chief economist with the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). "There are some necessary, non-discretionary things that government does that should be made available to everyone in a community, regardless of the ability to pay," she says.

Supporters of user fees, however, say that they are both fairer and more efficient. "Liberals are overly-negative about user fees," says William Schweke, project director of the Corporation for Enterprise Development. "User fees don't have to be unfair." Schweke points out that if a city fails to charge a fee for water use, then low-volume users (like inner-city renters) wind up subsidizing high-volume users (like homeowners with swimming pools).

beneficiaries of a specific service are." Opponents argue, however that it is virtually impossible to know with certainty who benefits from each service.

"The problem with user fees — and the problem with benefit taxes generally," says Richard Krashevski, an economist with the AFL-CIO, "is that most government programs have a lot of spillover benefits — benefits that accrue to the community as a whole, rather than the program user alone. There is very little that government does that is inherently private," he says. Krashevski worries that if only immediate users of a public service are asked to foot the bill — while the rest of us get a free ride — then governments will inevitably under-provide public services.

To illustrate this point, take the case of defense spending. Suppose everyone in the United States were asked to voluntarily pay a fee — rather than required to pay taxes — to cover the costs of the Pentagon. Of course, both those who paid the fee

and those who did not would benefit from the resulting level of national security, since it would be impossible to exclude anyone residing within our borders from enjoying the fruits of, say, nuclear deterrence.

Knowing this to be true, many people would choose to understate their willingness to pay — and fail to pay the fee. Such a financing scheme would inevitably lead to a lower level of defense spending.

This may be an extreme example, but the same questions must be posed in other spending areas. Take higher education — which is neither a purely public nor purely private good. To a certain extent, a sound higher educational system benefits all of us — in terms of technological progress, the development of future leaders, managers, and teachers. Clearly, individual students benefit — in terms of future earning power and expanded horizons.

Would the user fee concept be appropriate in this case to the exclusion of all other revenue sources? What about a subsidy from general tax collections? Today, our system is mixed, since state governments don't charge enough tuition to cover the full costs of running state universities and colleges and make up the difference through a variety of subsidies.

Many view user fees as the potential salvation for our nation's deteriorating infrastructure. But again, to a certain extent, all of us benefit from the

additional productivity and economic growth brought about by a well-maintained system of highways, ports, sewers, and public buildings. If governments rely on user fees exclusively, will we obtain the necessary amount of public investment?

As user fees continue to provide a greater share of state and local revenue people will become increasingly aware of a crucial point: unlike other

conventional state and local taxes, they cannot deduct user fees from their income for federal tax purposes. The town manager of Arlington, Massachusetts, argued during a debate over ways to bridge the Proposition 2½ revenue gap that federal deductibility made other municipal taxes cheaper for most families than new user fees. User fees represent the lost opportunity for state and local governments to shift part of their tax burdens to the federal government — a fact that won't be lost on cost-conscious taxpayers and city officials.

User fees are certain to be a hot topic of debate at the state and local level for some time to come. There will be more of them, and those that already exist will be higher. This, of course, will be true of state and local taxes generally — as the federal government vacates certain program areas.

User fees underscore a number of difficult philosophical questions that decision-makers at the state and local level will have to face as they search for new ways to raise funds.

● Is a tax system based on the benefit principle preferable to one based on the ability-to-pay principle?

● How should a public program be financed when the beneficiaries are not immediately obvious or are diffused?

● Which services that government provides are "public" in nature and which are "private"?

● Can user fees be designed and implemented to ensure that the poor are not denied access to services everyone else enjoys?

Ultimately, though, the public debate over user fees will be grounded more in politics than in philosophy. "We live in a second-best world," says Krashevski of the AFL-CIO, "in which there are no perfect user fees and there are no perfect taxes."

"Who pays will become the driving political question when it comes to user fees," he says, "just as it always has been for taxes. And no doubt, some groups of people will try to use the political process to shift the burden of financing government via the mechanism of user fees. The outcome — just like any other question of budget policy — will be the result of political struggles for a long time to come."

*David Wilhelm is a research associate with the Public Employee Department of the AFL-CIO, in Washington, D.C.*

A heart attack is not a pleasant experience although each one is, I believe, unique.

Heart attacks are supposed to be meaningful. Norman Cousins has just written and published a book about his. I have not yet found the meaning of mine. I have experienced no unusual perceptions or special insights or inspiration as yet. I may need more time, since the attack took me somewhat by surprise. The statistics and general indicators of

potentiality for attack, other than that I am a male and am getting older, were reassuring. I had low blood pressure, a slow pulse, had never smoked, and had no family history to worry about, and was only slightly overweight and underexercised. I was suffering or enduring only the normal stress of the politics of the Reagan Administration with some carry forward from the Carter Administration.

At that point, call for help. In my case the calls began about 2 a.m., Labor Day. To a neighbor who knew the name of a doctor to call in Culpeper. Another call to the doctor, who said he would be waiting. Then to a neighbor, closer than the rescue squad, to drive me to the hospital, some 25 minutes away.

The Doctor, and his staff were waiting and ready as promised. Dr. Al Cramer, who advised me on arrival that he was also the State Chairman of the republican party of Virginia. This was a confidence builder.

In any case, all went well, I am on the way to recovery, I am told, after various processes, echograms, angio-grams, etc. I am promised a good life, even some things, according to a reassuring pamphlet, that I have never done, successfully before, such as ball-room dancing (without benefit of Arthur Murray) and golf. My last score for 18 holes, made some 15 years ago, was 96. I am also advised by the pamphlet that I am ready for light housekeeping, including window washing, but am temporarily banned from heavy vacuum cleaning, a prohibition I will surely honor.

As of now I have come to only two sure conclusions. The first is that a person should have a special and detached respect for his or her heart, possibly address it as Mr. Heart, or as Ms. Heart, and not be very certain of it or possessive, or address it familiarly as one might, kidneys or liver, as "my kidneys" or "my liver".

The heart has a way of its own, pumping away, on its own time and schedule, generally reliable and regular, and uncomplaining but it demands respect.

My second clear conclusion is that one should not eat barbecued spare ribs on the evening of a heart attack, even if barbecued by that master of the open grill, Thomas Geoghegan.

Meanwhile I am reading the cards I have received from friends and enemies, and have begun reading the books sent to me; seven about Ireland, one of them, of Irish love stories, generally depressing; a biography of Dwight Eisenhower, a history of the Washington Post (critical, which increased my enjoyment) a history of Civil War Battles, of 1864, one of the Atlantic coastal areas, and one on the ends of the earth, The Arctic Esquimo lands, Siberia, the Congo, and Outer Manchuria.

## EUGENE McCARTHY

It was not that I was unaware of what the immediate signs of a heart attack are. From reports of friends who had had experience, and from warnings and admonitions from the media, I was alert for the pain in the left arm, shortness of breath, and sharp pains in the chest. None of these warnings were given me.

My advice to all is not to rely on statistical assurances or wait for identifiable symptoms, but to assure that you are having a heart attack, or about to have one, when you have sensations, painful or marginally so, in the region of your chest, that are different from any that you have ever experienced.



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# TOPICS

Sam Smith



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I missed "Day After" because I was returning to DC on a train, but I caught the ABC Viewpoint program that followed. If the documentary was half as scary as Henry Kissinger, then even adults shouldn't have watched it. I thought of sending the children to bed so that Dr. Strangelove wouldn't give them bad dreams, but based on the recommendation of a neighborhood psychiatrist I chose counseling instead, pointing out that ex-secretaries of state didn't have to be that bad and that even Henry Kissinger could be changed if the next generation stopped wasting their time in arcades and tried hard enough.

Actually, the whole post-mortem was rather bizarre. Perhaps it's because I generally I don't watch ABC, whose approach to news usually seems akin to what might be produced on local cable by the area chapter of Old Americans for Freedom. In any case, as close as I could figure, ABC thought it was presenting a spectrum of opinion by offering us William Buckley, Kissinger, Brent Scowcroft, Elie Weisel, Robert MacNamara and Carl Sagan. Sagan industriously but futilely tried to get the ex-government types off of their war-game and high tech strategy rhetoric --stating that the matter was one of "planetary hygiene." Buckley, I gather, found human extinction a small price to pay for an end of Soviet slave labor camps. And Elie Weisel mainly added gratuitous gloom to the proceedings.

Because there was no one on the panel to present political alternatives, a dangerous illusion was fostered -- namely that lower risk of nuclear conflict must be achieved within a nuclear context. Since we have had, for several decades, the macabre capabilities that everyone is now talking about, the question that arises is: why are we so afraid today?

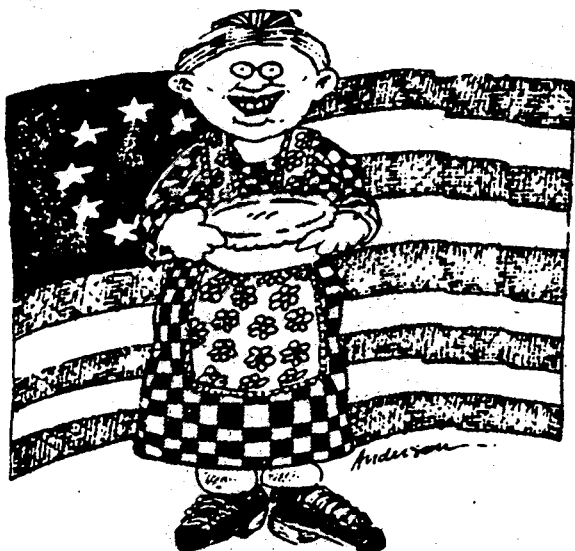
The answer does not appear to be some newly realized threat from the Soviet Union. Aside from the 007 incident, which no one has shown to involve much more than typical military incompetence or a tragic misinterpretation or a ghastly abuse of intelligence procedures, the Soviets have done little that differs markedly from a pattern long established.

What is different is that we now have a government which has explicitly determined to raise the level of conflict in the world. Part of this effort involves giving new life to old conflicts, since the facts do not support any claim of significantly increased danger from the Soviet Union. Not surprisingly, a people not known for their detailed knowledge of international affairs can be easily convinced that there are new reasons to be afraid of the Soviet Union, when, in fact, what really is causing the scare is their own government aided by an all too pliant media.

Only one person touched on this -- a questioner who was brushed off swiftly when she attempted to link Grenada and the Middle East to the nuclear matter. But she shone a brief light on the key issue: since any retreat from the nuclear overstocks will be slow and halting at best, our best hope for the non-use of nuclear weapons rests upon creating an environment in which such use is less and less plausible as an instrument of policy. Our intermediate salvation lies not really in a freeze

or a SALT III, IV or V, but in how we and the Soviets handle everything else. Yes, that includes Afghanistan and Poland but it also includes Grenada, Lebanon, Nicaragua and whether we treat the United Nations with contempt or support. The nuclear holocaust will be started not in an underground command center, but in some very ordinary sort of crisis that no one thought would get this bad.

What was frightening watching Kissinger, Scowcroft and McNamara at work was that none seemed to grasp the elemental connection between security from nuclear mayhem and our conduct of everyday affairs. They appeared unwilling to give up the government's prerogative to engage in



## Apple Pie

The percentage of cremations in this country has doubled in the past eight years while coffin sales have been slowly declining.

The Twentieth Century Fund says that any city considering raising tax revenues through legalized gambling should look closely at Atlantic City. The casinos there were supposed to generate jobs and money for the city. But, the fund notes in a recent report, almost all of the 30,000 new jobs went to out-of-towners and promises to use tax funds to help the elderly and handicapped have been ignored. The major effect of the casinos has been to drive property values up and encourage landlords to burn their buildings to get rid of low-paying tenants. The study says Atlantic City's economy is in worse shape than ever, street crime has become rampant, and prostitution is so widespread that even the police chief wants to legalize it.

aggressive and confrontational behavior. Each claimed to want to do away with the Big War but none suggested that, first, and far more easily, we give up the little wars and the international power games that lead to them.

It occurs to me that we might have a model for what needs to be done right in our own neighborhoods. Across the country, even police departments are giving credit to neighborhood watches for lowering the crime rate where they have been instituted. What has happened here? The traditional force-meets-force approach to crime-fighting had reached its limit of applicability. The neighborhood watches took a different approach -- they changed the environment so that crime no longer found as fertile ground in their communities. Politicians and those authority don't generally believe in this environmental approach unless they see it with their own eyes; they tend, in fact, to be resentful of it because it is an implicit criticism of their power and use of it. But it works and, in fact, is one of the most efficient and economic ways for producing positive change. If you don't believe me, check with the Pope who manages to have an extraordinary effect on the political environment with the aid of a few Swiss Guards.

We need to change the environment of international affairs -- not just make our politicians reduce the nuclear stockpile, but make them deal with the politicians and the people of other countries every day in a different way. In the western world, and to a less extent in the east, there is movement in this direction. But for there to be more, there must be a much broader understanding that each little Grenada is potentially just the week before the day after.

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One of the more peculiar fetishes of progressives and liberals is a belief that good change must primarily come at the federal level. Yet from the very earliest days of the republic-- when state action abolished primogeniture and the treatment of women as chattel, there have been occasions when the states moved ahead of the federal government. While local activists have generally recognized this and have pressed for change

A new study in Britain claims that vegetarians are just as susceptible to heart disease as meat eaters, may be more prone to certain kinds of cancers. Researchers at Oxford University said they reached that conclusion after examining the death records of nearly 800 vegetarian society members. That set off a rhubarb, with vegetarians citing other studies showing they are healthier. The researchers say one reason for the discrepancy may be that some people joined the vegetarian society after they became ill.

Jeff Greenfield raised a ruckus with his suggestion in the november 12 TV Guide that Howdy Doody was responsible for the social unrest of the Sixties. Wrote Newfield: "Howdy Doody represents one of the most authentically subversive TV shows in American history," since it showed children as heroes and adults as villains, bores or the butt of jokes. Show host Buffalo Bill Smith said he thought Greenfield must be "ill," since the show emphasized love of parents. And even Abbie Hoffman weighed in with the view that Kukla, Fran and Ollie "were the first really radical show -- they expressed a more liberated lifestyle." He gave them credit of "being responsible for making me go to jail 41 times."

A new illustrated book will offer a unique look at the animal kingdom. Called the 'Field Guide to Flattened Fauna,' the book will identify those mangled lumps of feathers and fur you pass while driving on the highway. Roger Knutson, the author and a biology professor at Luther College in Iowa, says that for most of us, squashed squirrels or bashed birds are our first exposure to wildlife.

We previously reported an expected popcorn shortage at movie theatres due to a poor corn crop this year. But experts now say an oversupply from previous years will make up for the loss. Prices are still expected to go up.

at the community and state level, the Washington bias of national organizations remains strong.

I was reminded of this upon reading an article by Isabelle Katz Pinzler, director the Women's Rights Project of the ACLU Foundation, who pointed out that sixteen states have equal rights provisions in their constitutions and efforts are underway in several other states to introduce such amendments. But Pinzler adds, "Several organizations, most prominently NOW, are opposing these state amendments -- not on the merits but on the ground that they do not want to dissipate scarce resources." The ACLU, incidentally, having long recognized the specificity of change, is not opposing state ERAs and some its chapters are actively working for them. At a time when little positive can come out of Washington, the latter course makes a lot of sense. Then, at least, some parts of the United States can move ahead.

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In a reply to his less-courageous colleagues printed in the Washington Post, Rep. Ron Dellums makes an interesting point about the invasion of Grenada. He notes that during a 2 1/2 hour meeting between the visiting congressional delegation and the prime ministers of the eastern Caribbean states, "the question of the students' safety was never once raised. Furthermore, our delegation could not find one confirmed instance in which an American was threatened or endangered before the invasion."

The much publicized, and badly needed, airport being built [in Grenada] with Cuban -- and Canadian -- help, will open in May. With it, Grenada hopes to attract airlines that can provide direct service from the US. Travellers now fly in via Barbados or Trinidad. --Travel & Leisure

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## CAPTIVE CAPITAL

By Sam Smith

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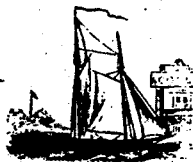
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# FLOTSAM & JETSAM

## Harvard U



Twenty-five years ago this June I graduated from Harvard U. That's what John Wiebenson calls it.

When you say "Harvard U" to a loyal son of Harvard, he tends to blanch, for the intimation of the mundane and pedestrian, which the true LSH hates more than sin or error, challenges what the songwriter Allen Jay Lerner once described as Harvard's "indubitable, irrefutable, inimitable, indomitable, incalculable superiority."

But then Wieb and I are not exactly loyal sons of Harvard. We belong to one of the less-noted subgroups of Harvard offspring, the Harvard dissident, which, like the stereotype, has a long and tolerably distinguished tradition. The Harvard dissident can trace his roots back at least as far as Henry Thoreau, who had little truck with the place after he was through, and to the abolitionist Wendell Phillips, who left Harvard a list of social causes to which it had contributed nothing and to Ralph Emerson who said college graduates come out "with a bag of wind, a memory of words -- and do not know a thing."

In the 1890s, V.L. Parrington, on his way to becoming a noted historian, entered Harvard from Emporia College. The experience, Richard Hofstadter writes in 'The Progressive Historians,' "can be characterized only as a provocative disaster." For his twenty-fifth reunion class report, Parrington wrote, "The past five years I have spent in study and writing, up to my ears in the economic interpretation of American history and literature, getting the last lingering Harvard prejudices out of my system. .... I become more radical with each year and more impatient with the smug Tory culture which we were fed on as undergraduates. I haven't been in Cambridge since July, 1893. Harvard is only a dim memory to me. Very likely I am wrong in my judgment, yet from what little information comes through to me I have set the school down as a liability rather than an asset to the cause of democracy. It seems to me the apologist and advocate of capitalistic exploitation -- as witness the sweet-smelling list of nominees set out yearly for the Board of Overseers."

Parrington, who once observed that "provocative thinking and the American university seem never to have got on well together," would soften somewhat on Harvard in his later life, but never enough to allow his son to go there.

There are other species of Harvard offspring besides the traditional dissident. You don't hear about them much either. Like the student who departed this world by backing himself into an airplane propeller. Or the classmate who robbed a statue from the Fogg Museum, jumped off a trans-Atlantic steamer as a poetic gesture and was later spotted driving a motorcycle down a San Francisco street, clad only in a crash helmet. Or those who simply left the place, some of them doing quite well even without the blessing of Harvard. Or the sixty odd members of my class that the class secretary can't find. Or the women who were in every one of my classes but who, for the past twenty-five years, have been non-persons

of the Class of '59 because they were administratively assigned to Radcliffe College. To an outsider it may seem a curious omission. After all, many of us knew some Radcliffe students better than the vast majority of the male members of our class. But one of the privileges of Harvard is to note only that which it wishes to see: the worst thing that can happen to a Harvard student, in the eyes of Harvard, is that he is "expunged." The university simply denies he was ever there. The women of '59 never got there in the first place.

There are other deviations from the stereotype: a sample of my class's 20th anniversary report finds nearly half the members of the class didn't bother or didn't want to tell their Harvard brothers what they were up to. Among those who did there was one chief of the UN Peacekeeping Mission in the Middle East, one "financial associate of John Hay Whitney," one teacher of transcendental meditation, one car dealer, one travel agent, one founder of a human potential school, one airlines pilot, one owner-laborer-deliveryman of a firm making indoor potting soil, one funeral director and one janitor who was a homosexual and proud of it.

Among those who did not report, I know some who have done interesting and useful things, some who went crazy, and some who have had a struggle that, instructive as it might be to others, is hard to put in print. The genre of class reports is consistently upbeat:

I have continued to be a member of "Top of the Table" of the Million Dollar Round Table, a group composed of the top three hundred agents in the world, each member producing in excess of seven million dollars per year. \*\*\* I am a partner [in] an organization of fourteen outstanding life insurance agents. \*\*\* A year ago we purchased a small bank which we have succeeded in doubling in size during the past year. \*\*\* We also have involved ourselves in other ventures, from apartments, to hamburger franchises, to modular farming.

The wisest thing written in our 20th anniversary report was Bryce Nelson's one sentence entry: "Why do alumni reports describe people with more idyllic lives than the people we know in real life?"

<<<<>>>>

Despite the variations, the stereotype persists not without reason. In a hundred-page sample of my last class report I found an occupational breakdown of those responding as follows:

University professors	20%
Businessmen (often vice presidents or presidents)	17%
Medicine	12%
Lawyers	12%
Government (overwhelmingly in federal or New York and Mass. state government)	6%
Insurance	4%

71% of the sample were in these categories. The next highest category was architects (2%), those in secondary and elementary education (2%), those who had died (1.5%) and journalists (1%).

Put another way, if you went to Harvard to become a journalist you would stand a better chance twenty years later of being dead. On the whole I prefer journalism.

Only three people in the sample had gone into the ministry, one into conservation, three were librarians, one was a musician and there was one art dealer but no artists.

The figures tell a lot more about what Harvard is about than what Harvard says it is about. Empirically it is an upscale vocational school for a select number of professions. Those who went to Harvard knowing this, and wanting this, got an education with which most, I suspect, are more than satisfied. Those who did not want to be lawyers, doctors, university professors, vice presidents of corporations or members of the Million Dollar Roundtable often discovered Harvard's relative indifference to their aspirations only with frustration and bitterness.

They had come, after all, with a high school



student's vision of Harvard as a cornucopia of opportunity, a vision fostered by the generalized myth of Harvard, by enthusiastic high school teachers more dedicated to teaching than most of the professors the student would find in Cambridge, and by the self-promotional rhetoric of Harvard itself which, to this day, refuses to admit how parochial its interests really are.

The Harvard dissidents penetrated the illusion early. It didn't take long to discover that we had chosen a pin-stripe boot camp, an MIT of establishmentarian science, a place where one traded in the provincialism of one's home town for the more elegant and still remarkably Tory provincialism of Cambridge.

The adaptation to this discovery varied. I think occasionally that some of us never adapted well at all. The disjunction of our Harvard experience left us somehow out of sync with the world. When what Harvard promised proved false, it did something to other promises as well.

On the other hand, I think sometimes that refusing the world on Harvard's terms, something we must have learned to be stupid or brave enough to do before we ever got there, means little except that Harvard was the first Emerald City we had run across in our lives. Whether we had gone to Harvard or not, we would have taken off the green glasses somewhere else.



It took me less than 24 hours to discover that I was out of step with my peers. Returning from my first Soc Sci 2 lecture, desperately telling myself that I would understand it if I thought about it long enough, I sat down to do the assignment. I was no further than seven pages into Max Weber when I broke out into a cold sweat; I simply couldn't comprehend the guy at all. Worse, in the days to come, I would run into classmates who dealt with Weber as though they were discussing the latest issue of the *Crimson*. I passed Soc Sci 2 by attending cram sessions sponsored by indulgent colleagues of this ilk, but my satisfaction in doing so was diminished by the realization of the gap between us. I didn't think like them; I didn't talk like them and, worse, I didn't care like them.

There had been premonitions of this problem in high school. Although I ranked on paper with the smartest in the class I knew that I tended to change the subject when Toni or Marcia brought up Eliot or Freud or Marx and saved my few observations on such subjects for exam time. I knew there was a difference between us, but because my school did not attempt to funnel intellectual curiosity or expression into a small number of containers it didn't seem to matter. I fully expected Harvard to be at least as tolerant.

The dean of freshman at Harvard once said to me, "You people from Germantown Friends look so good on paper. Why do you do so badly here?"

It was a fair question at the time; a number of students from my Philadelphia Quaker high school were on probation and one had dropped out. I don't remember what I told the dean at the time, but today I might have responded like this:

GFS did not overdefine the purposes of education or of being educated. It understood that people's brains worked differently -- some excelled in memory and analysis, some more in creation and imagination. It understood the importance of having a philosophy as well as learning philosophy. It understood the dangers of, in Niebuhr's phrase, power without love, and that the power of knowledge did not operate in a moral and ethical vacuum. And while it understood the importance of form and procedure, it did not inculcate them at the expense of passion.

To someone coming out of a holistic secondary education or a background in which knowledge and ideas had always been integrated into community, religion, family or whatever, Harvard was a disturbingly lopsided place, ethically vacuous, devoid of social vigor, obsessed with a narrow strip

of the human spectrum that it deemed worth of study and emulation.

To be sure, it claimed it wanted and, indeed, it sought, the unusual -- the artists, the athletes, the eccentrics, even a smattering of minorities. And it wanted to avoid its own parody and thus paid special attention to public school graduates.

But what did it want to do with these people? Simply turn them into Harvardmen.

In 1959, when Harvard still felt a strong responsibility towards its alumni in admissions, the *Alumni Bulletin* reported that the admissions committee "has found that a considerable proportion of the private school graduates coming to Harvard are sons of public school graduates. This suggests a problem, the admission committee says:

'Apparently, the pattern is that a public school graduate goes to Harvard, does well in life, and then sends his son to a private school where he may turn out not to have quite the drive and ambition of his 'old man.' There is nothing like coming from the wrong side of the tracks to put the spurs into a man. But what do we do about Harvard sons?'

From National Merit Scholar to dissolute preppe in one generation, hardly a tribute to the lasting quality of the Harvard tradition of excellence.

But then the experience of a Harvard education (as contrasted with the experience of having been at Harvard) was for many not that enduring beyond the sort of collegial jingoism celebrated at reunions. In some ways it functioned as a four-year hazing ritual prior to entry into the fraternity of the professional and social elite. When I was thinking about dropping out (it was the fifties and one paused more before committing such offenses then would later be the case) I asked one of the more intellectually-renowned professors associated with my house what the main reason for staying at Harvard might be. This man of letters and thought replied simply, "The degree will come in very handy later on."

He was right, of course, and recognizing that he was, I stayed. But it made me all that more cynical to think that the real reason for going to Harvard was simply because it was there -- and everybody knew it.

This reason has, however, been so important to so many graduates who feel their lives, without the Harvard imprimatur, might have been far less full -- or even desperate, that attitudes such as mine are regarded as ungrateful and even arrogant. I think with few exceptions these graduates denigrate their inherent abilities and I think that the difference in reactions merely points again to the under-noted fact that Harvard serves a constituency very well, but that the constituency is narrower than generally supposed.

For myself, I find it is my high school that was crucial in my life. I find myself drawing upon the wisdom and inspiration and character of many of my high school teachers but very few of my Harvard professors.

The two best professors I had were not Harvardmen at all -- a visiting Englishman who taught a course on British government and gave an exam with one three-hour question -- "Who governs Britain?" and David Riesman, who had just arrived from the University of Chicago. Riesman, whose course I took with several hundred others in my senior year, sent me a three-page comment on my term paper -- several months after I had graduated! I believe he did this for everyone in the class. I had my degree, it had already come in handy, but Riesman apparently thought there was more to education than that.

There were others who were memorable: The salty Robert Albion with his course on maritime history. The Harvard view was that this course was for jocks and not to be taken seriously -- an example of the curious prejudices of the place: maritime history just wasn't as significant as the history of powerful men.

A number of professors in my major -- anthropology, did a good job and at least one of them may have helped set me a bit on course. Cora Dubois



wrote of my exposition on the Nagas: "This is pretty good journalism, but bad anthropology. B--"

And then there were the professors who inspired anecdotes and affection. Like the beloved Bart J. Bok, with a course on astronomy (one-half of a astronomy-geology course dubbed alternatively "Heaven and Hell" or "Stardust") who gave a superb one-man imitation of the solar system, and explained the non-movement of a Foucault pendulum with a shrug and the explanation that "Well, maybe de earth she does not move today."

And I got my share of the names: Kluckhohn, Galbraith, and so forth.

But I can not really tell you what I learned from them, the way I can tell you what I learned from Howard Platt, my high school anthropology teacher -- whose enthusiasm for his subject was so great that 15 percent of Harvard's undergraduate anthropology majors consisted of his former students. Or from Bob Boynton, Ed Gordon and David Mallery, my high school English teachers, who taught me a love of writing that survived even four years of effort by Harvard to kill it. Or from teachers in fields I would not pursue such as math and physics and biology who left me with an empathy for their subjects that went far beyond just passing a requirement. Teaching (especially teaching undergraduates), I slowly learned, was not Harvard's skill or desire.



Let me be honest: some of my instructors would have said I didn't give the place a fair trial. As early as my freshman year I received a postcard from my Gen Ed A English instructor that read: "Mr. Coles requests the pleasure of your attendance at the next regular meeting of his course."

Although I became involved in all sorts of reputable extra-curricular activities from being a member of the sailing team to being a DJ at the college radio station, I also found time to enjoy fully the dissolute life of the fifties. I skipped classes, often welcomed the dawn over coffee and toasted English at Hayes Bickford, and drank too much.

And in June of my junior year I received a letter from the senior tutor of Adams House:

I am writing to let you know that the Administrative Board voted to place you on probation instead of severing your connection with the University as a result of your second consecutive unsatisfactory term record this spring. Although still far below what you could easily do with a decent amount of work and interest, your marks did show considerable improvement the first term and were so close to satisfactory that severance would have seemed unnecessary concern for the letter of the law. \*\*\* It seems to me that you should consider fairly carefully this summer what you want to do about your academic career. If you don't want to put in the time and effort to produce a satisfactory result then it would be something of a waste of time to be here. If you do want to complete next year, however, you should make up your mind to do a good job and exert enough self-discipline to do it...."

At the time I received this letter I was station manager of the Harvard radio station, did a four-hour Saturday broadcast and covered the Cambridge City Council, worked for the Harvard public relations office, had another part-time job with the Fund for Harvard College, played drums in a dance band, had a reasonably active social life and had, by my account, set a recent record for the number of hours spent at the Adams house dining room engaged in conversation -- my personal best being a day when I arrived early for lunch and stayed through dinner.

This was, in effect, the alternative curriculum that I had devised for myself and within it found just about everything lasting that remains with me from my Harvard days -- friends, models, ideas, dreams. The problem was that there was no credit given for any of these courses, a fact I tended to

ignore to my peril. Yet the Harvard staff member who influenced me most was my employer at the Harvard News Office, Bill Pinkerton, a wise, kind and perceptive ex-AP reporter. My experiences at the Cambridge city hall would light a deep interest in urban politics. My hours at the radio station were infinitely more instructive than any course I took. And the music -- well, it was just necessary. To paraphrase Emma Goldman, if I can't dance, I don't want to be in your establishment.

For me, the great dichotomy of Harvard was that seldom have I been so unhappy doing what I was supposed to be doing and seldom have I been so happy doing what I was not supposed to be doing.

Both the exuberance and the despair have only rarely equalled themselves since and while I blame Harvard for the latter I know it also helped provide the former. I write of myself but not really. I made some close friends at Harvard and of those -- and it was most of them -- who had the spark of dissidence, few have fit the pattern the Harvard stereotype suggests. There have been many divorces, a stay in a mental hospital, unemployment, dissatisfaction with jobs that others envied them for, even, in one case, a spell in Allenwood federal prison. Where peace has been found it has been sometimes after an enormous struggle that in part seems somehow, but inexplicably, tied up with having gone to Harvard.

Perhaps our problems stemmed from having been rebels before the age of rebellion. I suspect dissident students of today sense some of the things we experienced: a world that did not even want to talk about things that seem to matter. The most active political group on campus when I was at Harvard was the Young Republicans and their main activity was drinking. The biggest collective action was a riot on behalf of Pogo for president. The drug of choice was booze except for some football players who had discovered peyote and some Soc Rel majors who had discovered Timothy Leary. The rediscovery of the beatniks was not until after we graduated and even those who considered themselves liberal accepted communism as democracy's biggest threat. (A customs official during those days asked me where I went to college. I told him Harvard. "Ever have any trouble with communism?" he asked. "No sir," I said and he waved me on.)

In my high school reading I had learned of the conflicts between American ideals and reality and of the manifestations of this in presidents and in salesmen who were dying and in men in gray flannel suits.

But the issues that were so real in high school, which seemed to be related to what we were and would be, turned blandly academic at Harvard. We had left high school ready to take on the world only to discover that the world wasn't to be taken on, but examined, studied and ultimately manipulated. That some of us refused to concede so passively has been perhaps a major triumph of our past 25 years -- a triumph of will if not of achievement.

\* \* \*

I entered Harvard sharing the belief of Robert Louis Stevenson that "books are good enough in their own way, but they are a mighty bloodless substitute for life." I left four years later, joyfully closing -- finally, I was sure -- my academic career and my association with Harvard. I spurned requests for funds, did not join the local Harvard Club and found that my responses to the class reports getting shorter and shorter. Starting out with the typical desire to tell my classmates how wonderful things were, by my twentieth anniversary report I wrote: "Same job, same wife, same kids, same house. Everything else has been different."

I have tried, like Parrington, to purge myself of Harvard prejudices and get on with life. And like Parrington, I sometimes regard the net effect of Harvard, what it is, what people think it is, and what it does to people, a liability to the country.

While Harvard has always been an important force in American life, it has never an important force for democracy, justice or human progress. The fact that it contributes disproportionately to the various



elites of America says nothing about the quality of what it contributes nor does it speak to its role in maintaining elites where elites shouldn't be or shouldn't be in such power. Harvard's power and the power of its graduates is mitigated primarily by the overbearing sense of tradition and the basic indifference to actually doing something, which helps maintain a sort of equilibrium in the segments of society that it influences. There are exceptions, such as the Harvardmen in the government who, in one of the more costly displays of machismo, treated Vietnam as their own Outward Bound program, but society's best protection against the Harvard influence is that the classic Harvardman doesn't want so much to do anything as to be where what is being done is done, preferably at the top.

To accomplish this requires a intricate old boy network that continues to operate with remarkable efficiency and which is one of Harvard's most impressive and self-perpetuating achievements. To the true loyal son of Harvard, the degree is not only handy but it is the gift that keeps on giving, well past even a 25th reunion.

On one of the gates going into Harvard Yard there is an inscription. It reads: "Enter to Grow in Wisdom."

As you leave Harvard Yard through the same gate there is another inscription. It reads: "Depart the Better to Serve thy Country and thy Kind."

How well Harvard has served its country is open to question. But no one can doubt that it has served its kind to the fullest. And that is why, I have long suspected, it is really there. --S A M S M I T H

## GAZETTE GUIDE

Here are some of the progressive organizations with which you might wish to make contact. Others will be listed in future issues. Please send any additions, corrections or deletions to the DC Gazette, 1739 Connecticut Avenue NW, DC 20009

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CLEAN WATER ACTION PROJECT 1341 G St. NW DC 20005 202-638-1196

CENTER FOR RENEWABLE RESOURCES 1001 Conn. Ave. NW DC 20036

NATIONAL SOLAR HEATING & COOLING INFORMATION CENTER PO Box 1607 Rockville Md. 20580

ENVIRONMENTALISTS FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT 1536 16th St. NW (first floor) DC 20036

COMMITTEE FOR NUCLEAR RESPONSIBILITY Main PO Box 11207 San Francisco CA 94101

TASK FORCE AGAINST NUCLEAR POLLUTION PO Box 1817 DC 20013

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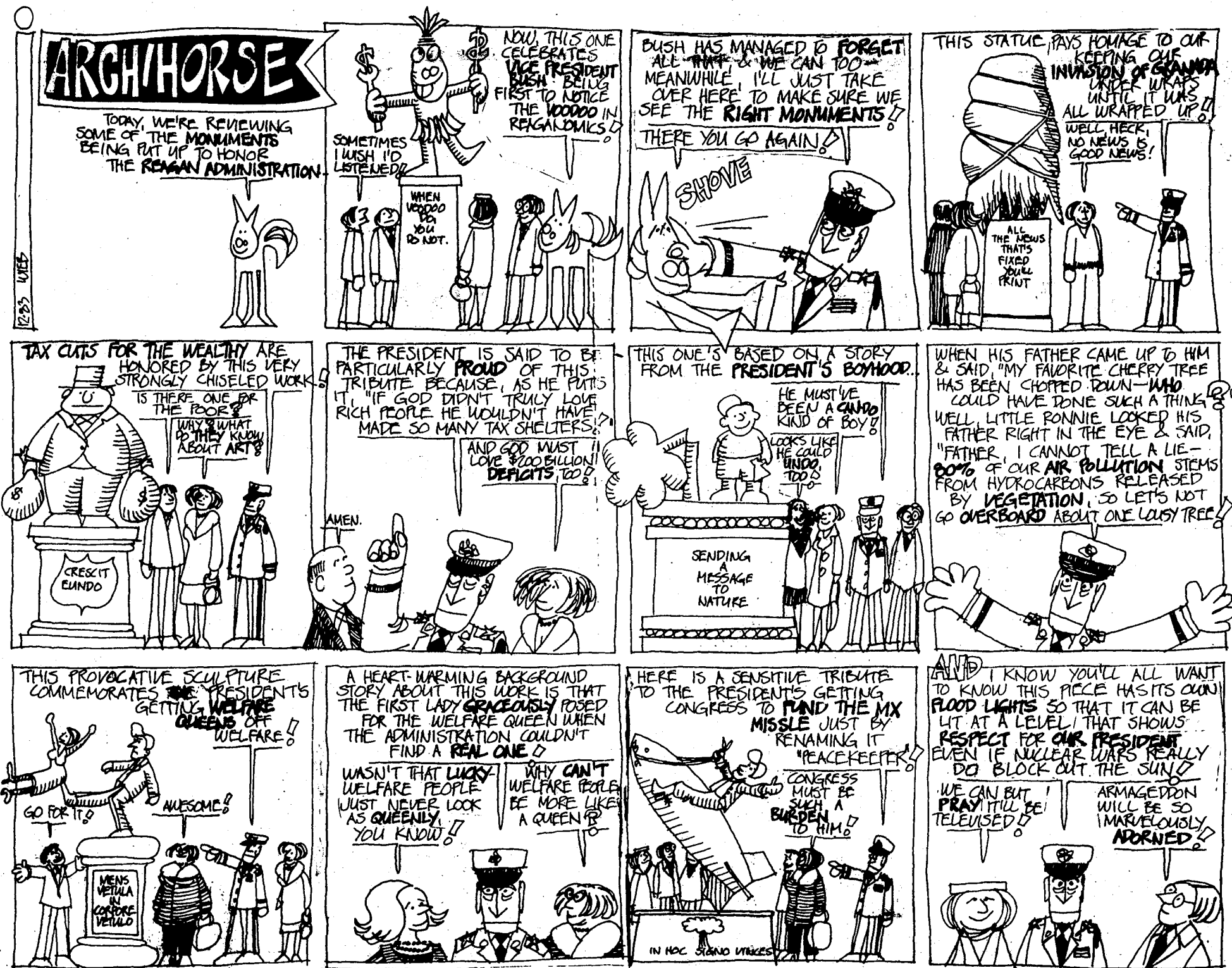
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URBAN ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCE 666 11th St. NW DC 202-638-3385. Modeled on the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, UEC emphasizes environmental and occupational health, but is also involved in issues such as energy conservation, equity of energy and environmental laws, jobs and the environment, labor law reform, fair housing and full employment. Lobbying, field organizing, technical assistance and citizen education.

NATIONAL AUDOBON SOCIETY, 645 Penna Ave. SE, DC 20003

AMERICAN RIVERS CONSERVATION COUNCIL, 317 Penna. Ave. SE, DC 20003. 202-547-6900. Works to save American rivers.

AMERICAN WIND ENERGY ASSOCIATION, 1609 Conn. Ave. NW, DC 20009. 202-667-9137

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NATIONAL FARMERS UNION, 600 Md. Ave. SW #202 DC 20024. 628-9774

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# THE MISSILES AND NATO

**Jorgan Dragsdahl**

COPENHAGEN--The arrival of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe is a serious defeat for NATO.

This is apparently not the view in the United States. Richard Burt, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, has called it a significant achievement, "the demonstration of alliance strength and cohesion under pressure." Editorial comment echoes this sentiment, calling the deployment a victory for NATO. These views show a striking misunderstanding of European politics.

While most governments in NATO support deployment, opinion polls in all countries show large majorities opposed. Popular movements such as these are not overnight fads. They influence all institutions, and governments cannot long oppose them without risking defeat.

At upcoming NATO meetings two countries, Greece and Denmark, will not support deployment. A parliamentary majority forced this stand on the Danish government. A similar demand was defeated by only one vote in Norway.

Thus the "cohesion" of the alliance has only been exhibited by officials. In effect, governments have demonstrated solidarity against their own people.

This is new. Since World War II, a broad popular consensus behind security policies has given NATO stability. Now this consensus has been destroyed.

This is particularly clear in votes against missile deployment from Social Democratic parties, which have never before seriously questioned NATO initiatives.

NATO countries have long retained popular backing for higher arms expenditures by claiming these were really a method of reaching disarmament.

Since the late 1960s, NATO has based its policies on the "Harmel Report" which established two overriding principles -- defense and detente. These are reflected in the "two-track" decision of December, 1979 which linked installation of new missiles to arms reduction talks with the Soviet Union.

These negotiations did not succeed. But few here are

willing to place all the blame on the Soviets -- and many give the Reagan Administration most of the blame.

The reason is obvious once one looks at a few figures. Today, about 243 Soviet SS20 missiles are directed against Western Europe. NATO's deployment is publicly justified as a response to this threat.

But the Soviet Union has officially offered a reduction to 140 missiles with 420 warheads. Unofficially, it has offered to reduce its force to 120 missiles.

In either case, the Soviet threat would have been less than one tenth the megatonnage directed against Western Europe for two decades.

The number of warheads would have been cut in half.

NATO rejected these offers because they included a call for no new U.S. deployments. But the peace movement and the Social Democratic parties did not want new U.S. missiles, and were encouraged by the possibility of deep reductions in the Soviet threat.

Now we have not only no reductions, but more Soviet

missiles. And the addition of hundreds of U.S. missiles make few people feel more secure.

Negative feelings go beyond the specific question of missiles, as recent polls conducted for leading dailies in Western Europe show. Fewer people from the industrialized countries now believe the security of the West depends on collaboration between Western Europe and the United States -- the drop in West Germany, for example, from September, 1982, to October, 1983, was from 53 to 34 percent. And an increasing percentage would prefer greater contacts and dialogue with the Soviets.

The NATO decision has also deepened divisions between Eastern and Western Europe.

An independent peace movement has developed in some East European countries and they have often warned western friends that deployment of U.S. missiles would increase repression. This is happening now. The crisis in East-West relations, which has been basically a Soviet-American confrontation, is now focused on Europe.

This might harm political,



economic and cultural relations. The East Europeans will suffer most when contacts are broken, but West Europeans feel along with them.

In sum, the missile deployment is a defeat for NATO because it has destroyed the legitimacy of the alliance and created deep divisions in its popular backing. Detente is hardly even a fig leaf today.

The most significant result of the four-year-long missile debate is that military issues are no longer the exclusive concern of a tiny elite. New experts have appeared connected with the peace movement, and they are sure to inspire debate on other issues.

At a recent meeting of Social Democratic leaders from many NATO countries, held in Germany, there was much talk about the future of NATO.

These leaders expect Reagan to be re-elected. They ask what will happen to popular backing for the alliance if the pattern of the last four years is repeated.

None of them wants their countries to leave NATO. But all are seriously concerned about the possibility of being pushed into a confrontation with an alliance governed by European and American conservatives.

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"Dad, what's collective bargaining?"

-AFSCME Union News/cpf

## CITY DESK Cont'd

Anne Hargrove, a board member of the Citizens Planning Coalition, notes, "A zoning plan and an elected body of zoning commissioners would be a legal hold on the arbitrary exercise of power in specific zoning rulings." Anyone for an initiative on this?

Polly Shackleton has introduced a bill that would authorize the Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs to issue tickets and levy fines for violations of certain building regulations. This is a refreshing change from the tendency of the city council to keep adding to the list of criminal offenses the DC citizen must avoid. One good way to reduce the number of people in jail and the workload of the courts is to decriminalize offenses that should be handled by civil penalties such as use of drugs and prostitution.

The divorce rate in DC is the third-highest among large US cities. Some 15% of persons who have been married are now divorced compared to lowest ranked New York City with only 8%. Other high divorce cities are San Francisco and Detroit. The figures come from Dun & Bradstreet's Donnelly Marketing Information Service. Experts blame the high local totals on stress among both poor blacks and affluent whites.

ANCs and others concerned about the mayor's "volunteer community services network," which is supervised by city employees, might want to look into the use of some of these employees to round up bodies for the Jesse Jackson presidential announcement. Interesting definition of "community service," isn't it?

Although the Rhodes Tavern initiative won handily in over ninety percent of the city's precincts, it failed in a number of west of the park areas. Working the polls last month, I got an inkling of the reason: a surprising number of people in Ward III feel that preservation of aesthetics is important but the preservation of history per se isn't. Since Rhodes Tavern didn't appeal to their aesthetic senses, they voted against it.

This is an unfortunate attitude that has been fostered by a number of preservation groups, such as Don't Tear It Down, which made the deal with Oliver Carr that put Rhodes in danger. It should be noted that the new kid on the preservation block, the Art Deco Society, operates on a markedly different set of principles. Its fascinating newsletter repeatedly shows a deep interest in the history of the Art Deco period as well as the structural remains. The most recent edition, for example, features some reviews of movies with art deco elements (such as "Zelig," "My Favorite Year" and, yes, "The Empire Strikes Back") as well as a look at local art deco restaurants.

Meanwhile, the structural preservationists last line of defence, facade preservation (as typified by Michler Place, 19th & N and the 15th Street buildings north of Rhodes) came under heavy fire in the June 1983 Progressive Architecture. Critic Thomas Vonier says that

facade preservation might "better be called saving face. The falseness is sometimes ludicrous, in more ways than immediately striking the eye. Try one of the 'doors' on Michler Place, and you will find it is sealed shut; look inside the replica 2-over-2 double-hung windows (complete with burglar alarm wiring) and you see suspended acoustical tile ceilings and coffered fluorescent fixtures..." Says one observer, "Next we'll just be saving the historic paint."

It is an interesting problem. Perhaps the best solution I've seen is the facade that has been preserved as part of a high-rise office building in Philadelphia. Instead of being neatly pasted onto the new building, the old facade crumbles away at one side as though hit by a bomb, preserving not only most of the facade but a



## Roses & Thorns

ROSES TO DORN MCGRATH, chair of the planning department at George Washington University, who attacked the comprehensive plan in a fine op-ed piece in the December 5 Post in which he suggested that the city council, with the aid of universities and civic organizations, rework the plan rather than approve its "lack of substance and flawed process." If you missed the article, dig it up. The comprehensive plan is the most widely discredited document to come out of the District Building in years. It would be a travesty for the council to ignore what everyone else knows: it's bad and it won't work.

THORNS TO THE SCHOOL BOARD for restricting speakers at local schools by requiring approval at the regional or headquarters level for political and diplomatic speakers from foreign countries. This is censorship pure and simple. You would expect this sort of thing from Ronald Reagan but not from our own school board. ACLU please copy.

ROSES TO BENJAMIN FORGEY who actually wrote a piece sharply critical of the comprehensive plan. Said Forgey, "One has to wonder about the seriousness of the Barry administration's commitment to the planning process when it forwards such a well-intentioned but fundamentally vague and unhelpful document."





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